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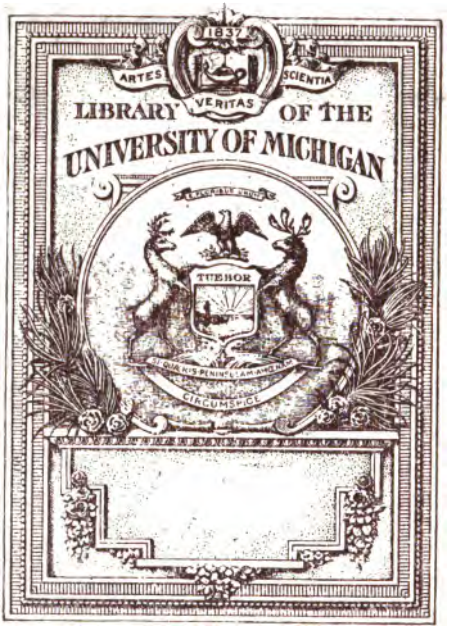
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CHRISTIAN UNITY: ITS PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBILITIES

FINAL REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WAR AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

RELIGION AMONG AMERICAN MEN. (Ready.)

THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR. (Ready.)

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION. (Ready.)

CHRISTIAN UNITY: ITS PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBILITIES. (Ready.)

THE TEACHING WORK OF THE CHURCH.

CHRISTIAN UNITY: ITS PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBILITIES

THE COMMITTEE ON THE WAR
AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

ASSOCIATION PRESS
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1921

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WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN

EDITORIAL PREFACE

I. *The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook and Its Work*

This volume is one in a series of studies that is being brought out by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. The Committee was constituted, while the war was still in progress, by the joint action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the General War-Time Commission of the Churches and was an expression of the conviction that the war had laid upon the churches the duty of the most thorough self-examination. The Committee consisted of a small group of representative men and women of the various Protestant Churches, appointed "to consider the state of religion as revealed or affected by the war, with special reference to the duty and opportunity of the Churches, and to prepare these findings for submission to the Churches." While created through the initiative of the Federal Council and the General War-Time Commission, it was given entire freedom to act independently according to its own judgment and was empowered to add to its number.

The Committee was originally organized with President Henry Churchill King as its Chairman and Professor William Adams Brown as Vice-Chairman. On account of prolonged absence in Europe, President King was compelled to resign the chairmanship in the spring of 1919 and Professor Brown became the Chairman of the group, with President King and Rev. Charles W. Gilkey as Vice-Chairmen. Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert was chosen to serve as Secretary of the Committee and Rev. Angus Dun was Associate Secretary for several months.

The peculiar significance of the Committee lies in the

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fact that it was appointed to do nothing except to *study*. It has proceeded on the assumption that the Churches need to do serious thinking and to *think together*.

When the Committee began its work four main lines of inquiry suggested themselves as of chief importance:

1. What effect has the war had upon the personal religious experience? How far has it reenforced, how far altered the existing type of religious life and thought?

2. What effect has the war had upon the organized Christian Church? What changes, if any, are called for in its spirit and activities?

3. What effect has the war had upon Christian teaching? What changes, if any, are called for in the content or method of the Church's teaching?

4. What effect has the war had upon the duty of the Church with reference to social problems of the time? What reconstructions are needed to make our social order more Christian?

As the Committee proceeded with these inquiries, several distinct fields of investigation emerged and led the Committee to adopt the plan of bringing out a group of reports instead of a single volume. Three of these studies have already appeared. The first was entitled "Religion among American Men: as Revealed by a Study of Conditions in the Army," and dealt with the lessons learned from the experience of chaplains and other religious workers in the army. The second volume, entitled, "The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War," considered the bearing of the new international situation on the significance, the policies, and the opportunities of foreign missions. The third report, "The Church and Industrial Reconstruction," was concerned with the responsibility of the Church for Christianizing industrial relationships. Another report which will soon appear will deal with the teaching work of the Church in the light of the present situation. The present volume is an earnest attempt to

study the problem of church unity and to discover the path of progress for the future.

Earlier preliminary publications of the Committee consisted of a comprehensive bibliography on the War and Religion and a series of pamphlets under the general heading, "The Religious Outlook," including the following numbers:

"The War and the Religious Outlook," by Dr. Robert E. Speer; "Christian Principles Essential to a New World Order," by President W. H. P. Faunce; "The Church's Message to the Nation," by Professor Harry Emerson Fosdick; "Christian Principles and Industrial Reconstruction," by Bishop Francis J. McConnell; "The Church and Religious Education," by President William Douglas Mackenzie; "The New Home Mission of the Church," by Dr. William P. Shriver; "Christian Aspects of Economic Reconstruction," by. Professor Herbert N. Shenton; "The War and the Woman Point of View," by Rhoda E. McCulloch; "The Local Church after the War," by Rev. Charles W. Gilkey.

Our special thanks are due to Association Press, which has assumed responsibility for issuing the publications of the Committee.

II. *The Present Volume*

The present report has been prepared by a special subcommittee, created by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, under the chairmanship of Dr. Robert E. Speer.

The membership was as follows:

Rev. Peter Ainslie, President of the Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity

Rev. Alfred Williams Anthony, Executive Secretary of the Home Missions Council

President Clarence A. Barbour, of the Rochester Theological Seminary

Rev. Arthur J. Brown, Secretary of the Board of For-

eign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

Rev. William Adams Brown, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary

Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, Secretary of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook

Rev. James H. Franklin, Secretary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society

Rev. Roy B. Guild, Secretary of the Commission on Councils of Churches of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Rev. Hubert C. Herring, Secretary of the National Council of Congregational Churches[1]

Professor Charles M. Jacobs, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary

Rev. Frederick H. Knubel, President of the United Lutheran Church

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Rev. Henry H. Meyer, Editor of Sunday School Publications of the Methodist Episcopal Church

Rev. Frank Mason North, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church

Professor George W. Richards, President of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States

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Professor Williston Walker, of the Yale Divinity School.

Dean Henry B. Washburn, of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge

Professor Herbert L. Willett, of the Disciples' Divinity House of the University of Chicago

[1]The section of this report, entitled, "The Congregational Churches and Church Unity," was prepared by Dr. Herring for the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook only a few days before his lamented death.

This committee held several conferences for the discussion of the problems to be faced and the formulation of its point of view, one of them consisting of a two days' retreat (July 12 and 13, 1920) at Wallace Lodge, Yonkers, N. Y.

In the table of contents the names of those who have been primarily responsible for the various parts of the report are set beneath the titles of the chapters. No chapter, however, represents simply the point of view of a single individual. In all cases the manuscripts were submitted to the whole Committee for discussion, criticism, and suggestions. The volume, therefore, is not merely a symposium but the product of collective study.

For the final form of the volume an editorial committee, consisting of Dr. Speer, Dr. William Adams Brown, and the Secretary, was responsible.

November 15, 1920. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT, *Secretary.*

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INTRODUCTION

In other studies the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook has considered certain phases of the Church's experience and of the Church's responsibility—notably the missionary work of the Church, the relation of the Church to industrial problems, and the responsibility of the Church for religious education. But all these questions force us back to a deeper question, namely, the question of the nature of the Church itself. We speak of the responsibility of the Church for evangelism, for teaching, for promoting social justice and good will. But what is this Church which must do these things? Where is it to be found, and how is it to function? According as we answer this question will be our attitude toward each of the more specific questions concerning the Church's responsibility. According as we find some way to make our convictions as to this supreme Christian interest effective in action will be our hope of success, or our certainty of failure, all along the line.

1. The Purpose of the Report

This central and fundamental question will concern us in the present volume. Our theme will be the nature of the Church and its method of operation. And here we find the surprising fact that when we raise this question there is no single body to which we can go for an authoritative answer. What we see is not a church but churches, each with its own independent history, each with its highly developed organization, each responsible primarily to its own constituency for that part of the work of Christ which falls to its lot. It is clear that if we are to have a satisfactory conception of the Church we must begin by considering the relation between the churches. We must determine whether they are parts of a larger unity and,

if so, in what way that unity manifests itself and what can be done to provide it with more effective organs of expression.

This question in turn falls into two parts, closely related indeed, but still separable. The first is a question of spiritual attitude and temper of mind; the second, of organization and machinery. How far, as a matter of fact, are the churches one in spirit? How far have they found means to express that inner unity in organs of common activity? The first is the question of *Christian* unity in the largest sense; the second the question of *church* unity. It is with the second of these questions that we shall be particularly concerned in this report. We shall ask ourselves to what extent the churches have found means to express their common unity in action, to what extent the one true spiritual Church, in which all Christians profess to believe, has succeeded in creating the instruments through which it can reveal its presence to the world and perform the tasks committed to it by Jesus Christ, the great Head of the Church. And if it has not yet succeeded, as all must confess that it has not, what are the prospects of its succeeding in the future? What plans are being made, and with what hope of success, for furnishing Christians, who profess to be one, with the means of demonstrating that unity to those who do not now believe in it?

2. The Occasion of the Report

Important at all times, the subject we propose for discussion is imperative today. For here, as so often, practice will not wait for theory. Partly as a result of the war, partly owing to causes that long antedate it, the movement toward unity among the churches has been developing with surprising rapidity. The Interchurch World Movement was only the most widely advertised of a number of movements that have engaged the attention not of individual Christians only but of responsible

ecclesiastical bodies. Not to speak of older organizations like the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, all three of which, as a result of the war, have been expanding their activities in interesting and significant ways; not to mention the recent activities of the Commission on Faith and Order, there have been a number of new movements that deserve careful attention. There is the recent movement for organic union initiated by the Presbyterian Church, which has resulted in the Philadelphia Conference and the presentation of a definite plan to the churches. There are the various proposals looking toward the reunion of the members of closely related ecclesiastical bodies, such as separated branches of Methodists and of Presbyterians. There is the significant multiplication of local federations and the growth of sentiment in favor of the community church, which has already given rise to a number of interesting experiments, and the very suggestive proposal of the so-called Concordat between the Episcopal and Congregational Churches. Indeed, so many and so vigorous are the different movements for greater unity among Christians that it has been seriously suggested that we need a new movement to unite the existing movements for unity.

But there is another reason which makes the present study timely. For although as a result of the war there has been a rapid development of the movement toward unity, there are not wanting signs that a reaction has begun to set in. The fate of the Interchurch World Movement is a case in point. Begun under the overwhelming impulse of the war, this enterprise, like the similar movement in politics which gave rise to the League of Nations, seemed to promise the immediate realization of results of the highest possible significance. Under the spell of the enthusiasm which it called forth, difficulties which had hitherto been deemed insuperable appeared of slight importance. It now seems, however, as

if too little account had been taken of the inherent difficulties in the case, and methods of publicity and advertising had been relied upon to take the place of those slower measures of education which require years for their consummation. In the reaction against these exaggerated expectations there are many who are inclined to depreciate the entire interdenominational movement, and to see in a return to the old denominational rivalry—the analogue in religion of the strife of nations which we had fervently hoped the war was to end—the only hope for the future of religion.

Such a view, it need hardly be said, is shortsighted. History has its eddies, but the main course of the stream is onward to the sea. The movement toward unity among churches, as among nations, may have received a temporary check, but it is only to gather its forces for a new advance. If there have been mistakes they will be corrected. If there are lessons to take to heart they will be learned. But of one thing we may be sure. In the great enterprise of uniting all the Christian forces for an effective forward movement against the hosts of selfishness and unbelief, there can be no turning back.

It is as a contribution to the reenforcement of this faith that this report is offered. The work of many hands, it is inspired by a single purpose. It is our hope to furnish, to those who are trying to guide the movement toward Christian unity into safe and fruitful channels, the information they need for wise, constructive, and permanent work. With this purpose in mind we propose to survey the different forms which the movement for unity has taken, not only among the different denominations of Christians, but within each of the more important Christian churches. For unity—it can never be too often insisted—is no less a task to be achieved within each communion itself than between the different communions. We shall try to analyze the motives from which the desire for unity springs, to weigh the obstacles

which impede and the helpful influences which reenforce the movement, and from this study to gain certain principles which may guide in laying plans for the future.[1]

It was the experience of the churches in the war which suggested the studies of which this is the conclusion and created the contacts which made them possible. This experience, moreover, contributed much to our understanding of the problems of Christian unity. In the first place, it revealed to us the extent of the unity which already existed. In the second place, it showed us new ways in which the existing unity could find expression in action. Along both these lines it taught us lessons of the highest significance for the future.

To be sure, the extent of this twofold contribution has not as yet been generally recognized. Amid the pressure of more dramatic events the work of the Church held small place in the imagination of the public. Much of it was indirect and self-effacing, rendered through other agencies, and finding no formal record in reports and bulletins. What was done officially was done through many different instrumentalities, and the story of their achievements has not yet been—perhaps never will be—completely told. Nevertheless, it is true that the story is well worth telling. It is worth telling because of what it reveals as to the progress made in the past. It is worth telling because of what it teaches as to the possibilities of the future.

It is worth telling, we repeat, because of what it reveals as to the progress made in the past. The movement for Christian unity is not of recent origin. It is as old as Christianity itself,[2] and the cooperation attained during

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[1]The present study confines itself to the movement toward church unity in the United States. An important appendix, however, discusses present movements in other countries than the United States.

[2]This fact is made abundantly clear in the section dealing with the divisive and the unitive forces in the history of Christianity prior to the American period.

the war was possible only because of earlier experiments which had made the idea of unity familiar to multitudes of Christians and had intensified their purpose to realize it. When war broke out there was no time to educate men as to the importance of Christians getting together. We had to make shift with such unity as we already had. Our problem was to find agencies through which this unity could express itself in the most effective and expeditious way. What was done, therefore, is instructive, not least of all for this, that it shows us to what extent our efforts after unity have thus far attained.

This was true both within the individual denominations and in the broader sphere of interchurch relations. In each case the war gave the existing desire for unity a mighty impetus. The new responsibilities confronting each denomination were in themselves a summons to more unified denominational undertakings. The inadequacies of former procedure were more clearly seen. Churches that had no organ through which they could function between the meetings of their highest judicatories became conscious of a lack, as they faced the unexpected demands upon them. Those churches which happened to be meeting in annual assembly soon after the outbreak of the war were in a position to create war commissions promptly, but others found themselves perplexed by lack of adequate machinery. But it is in the larger field of interdenominational cooperation that the lessons of the war were specially instructive. Here, too, it was not merely a matter of recognizing the sentiment for unity, but of creating agencies through which this sentiment could find expression in action. In the General War-Time Commission of the Churches nearly forty different religious bodies found an agency of common action. The study of the steps through which this agency was brought into being and the principles on which it operated is, therefore, full of instruction to the student of Christian unity.

But in addition to this war-time experience, the situation in which the Church finds itself today summons us to a thorough study of the problem of Christian unity. The troubles into which the Interchurch World Movement fell do not mean that the causes which have brought it into being have ceased to operate any more than a temporary failure of the League of Nations means that it is possible for America to revert to the position of national isolation which it held before the war. In Church as in State, isolation is unthinkable. On every side Christians are confronted by issues which render cooperation inevitable. The only question which remains to be discussed is that of method. Take any one of the phases of religious interest which challenge us strongly today, and we are brought back to the problem of unity. There is the task of Christian missions in the widest sense. Facing as we do in all the non-Christian countries not only a revived national consciousness, but with it a renewed vitality in the religions which are so intimately associated with this consciousness, how futile it is to suppose that a divided Christianity can be adequate! There is the task of Christianizing our industrial relations. Here, too, we find unity an indispensable condition of success. Face to face with the enormous aggregations of capital on the one hand and of labor on the other, what hope is there of bringing Christian principles to prevail, unless Christians themselves are agreed as to what these principles are and have some organ through which to bring these principles to expression? Above all, in the matter of Christian education is unity essential. Where so many and such powerful influences are working to destroy faith in God and in a spiritual order in the universe, where there are such wide areas in which the elementary principles of our Christian religion are ignored, or even unknown, what prospect is there of meeting the need of the rising generation for a sympathetic teaching of the fundamentals of the Gospel, unless those who are alike

responsible for success come together for a common attack upon the common task?

But there is a reason even deeper and more fundamental still. The unity of Christians is important not simply because of what it enables us to do, but of what it helps us to express. It is a witness to the truth of the central tenet of our religion, that there is one God who is Father of us all, one Christ who is Master of us all, and one Spirit who inspires and vitalizes us all. When the aspirations of mankind after unity, cherished through years of agony and sealed by an unexampled sacrifice, have been so rudely shaken; when so many are turning back with heavy hearts to the old selfish and divided life, in politics, in industry, in the wider sphere of international relations, what counterpoise can be found powerful enough to hold the faith of humanity steady and keep it from sinking back to the old level of doubt and despair? What but the spectacle of a society of men, wide as mankind and as diversified in interests, who have yet found in their religion a bond that has made them one indeed, and are witnesses through their activities to the reality of such a unity? In this witness to the world, the central object of our Lord's high-priestly prayer—"that they all may be one, that the world may believe"—is to be found the supreme motive to Christian unity.

3. The Meaning of Unity and Union as Discussed in the Report

In discussions of Christian unity confusion often arises because of lack of agreement as to the meaning of common terms. We shall, therefore, first attempt to call attention to certain distinctions, frequently overlooked, and to suggest a use of terms which will be followed in our subsequent discussion and which may conduce to clearness and mutual understanding.[8]

[8] The definitions here given are only preliminary to the general discussion. The meaning and significance of the different kinds of union are considered in detail in a later chapter.

At the outset it is important to distinguish

a. *Between unity and union.* The first is a matter of inner spirit; the latter of external organization. Christians already possess unity in the measure that they are one with Christ in spirit, and as such are members of His one invisible Church—the company of all who share His divine and redeeming life.

Union, on the other hand, has to do with the form of outward organization. It concerns churches as corporate bodies rather than the individuals who compose them. It means the expression of the inner unity of *Christians* in an external unity among the *churches.* This distinction is often not observed but it is essential to clear discussion. And since it is with the relationships of churches that we are primarily concerned in this report, the term union is usually the more accurate one. All the movements which we have presently to discuss—whether organic, federal, or administrative—which take place in the region of official institutional life and affect churches in their corporate capacity, are a part of the general problem of union.[4]

Within the general field of union we must further distinguish

b. *Between such forms of union as are brought about by the official action of church bodies, local or national, and the union of individual Christians in associations or societies,* such as the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations. These are themselves incor-

[4]In the interest of strict accuracy a distinction should also be made between cooperation, as meaning any joint action so long as it remains unofficial and temporary, and union, as meaning official action based on approved and permanent rules mutually agreed upon. In practice the line of demarcation between the two is difficult to draw.

The difference between unity, as meaning essential oneness of spirit, and uniformity, as meaning identity of expression, we assume to be fully recognized. It is less generally perceived that a similar distinction needs to be made between *union* and uniformity. The nature and possible extent of this difference will be discussed later.

porated bodies performing many of the functions of churches and might conceivably develop into new denominations, to be considered with other churches in any thoroughgoing discussion of church union. But they themselves disclaim this position. They profess to be voluntary associations of Christians banded together for definite purposes, but leaving the membership and responsibility of their individual members with the churches to which they belong. Their nearest analogy is the orders in the Roman Catholic Church, but they differ in that the latter are officially sanctioned and controlled by the Church, whereas this is not the case in American Protestantism. In so far as any relation of official recognition and control is brought about between the Y M C A and the churches, as has been done in Scotland, the Y M C A is removed from the category of purely voluntary organizations and becomes a part of the Church which is the subject of the various plans of union to be discussed. Where this is not the case the Associations remain voluntary bodies, outside the particular sphere of our immediate discussion.[5]

Within the sphere of church union as thus limited and defined, we must observe the difference

c. Between union as a problem which affects *denominations as a whole* and such forms of union as are possible between *sections or agencies of churches*—for example, between church boards, educational institutions, or individual local churches. In general we shall use the term "administrative union" to denote the latter of these forms of union, leaving "organic" and "federal union" to designate the former. By administrative union we shall understand any definite arrangement between official agencies of the churches which makes possible common

[5]What is true of the Christian Associations is true also of such federations of churches as are constituted by the action of individuals and not of churches as such, for example, the New York City Federation.

responsibility and united action in the planning of policies, the spending of money, or the doing of work. Such union in turn may be either national, regional, or local.

Among denominations as corporate units we must distinguish

d. *Between federal and organic union.* By federal union we shall understand any form of official union between denominations as a whole which leaves their original organization unimpaired. The parties to a federal union delegate certain powers to another agency but with the proviso that they are able to resume them at any time. Organic union, however, carries with it a certain note of irrevocableness. It may be more or less extensive, involving the transfer of responsibility in many matters or in few but in so far as power is delegated it is done so with the idea of definitely building up a new and permanently responsible authority.

While it is not hard to distinguish in theory between administrative, federal, and organic union along the lines above indicated it is difficult to carry out these distinctions consistently in practice. This is due partly to the fact that the terms are used by different people in different and often inconsistent senses, partly to the fact that the territory covered by them overlaps. The terms, as we shall see more clearly later, are not exclusive. There may, indeed, be union which is at once administrative, federal, and organic. And there may be many cases of union of which it is not easy to say at any moment of time whether they are primarily one or the other. We are dealing here with living organisms, not with changeless organizations, and in the process of change from one form of union into another we may not be able to recognize the exact moment when the transition is made.

Finally we must distinguish

e. Between union as a problem affecting *the whole Church,* or at least all that section of the Church included within a certain geographical area (e. g. the United

States) and the union of *church bodies of the same or closely affiliated families.* Those who speak of organic union commonly have the first in mind, though the term is equally applicable in the second and narrower sphere. Thus to many organic union is a synonym for the reunion of all Christendom. To them it means such unity in the whole outward organization as shall correspond to an existing inner unity, which we have already distinguished from union as purely spiritual. This use is naturally suggested by the word "organic," which is a vital rather than a legal term and so seems to be particularly applicable when we are thinking of the whole body of the Church. It would tend to clarify our thought if we could have a different term for designating a union which is "organic" so far as it goes, but which may be less inclusive than the entire Church. And since we are considering institutions and organizations the phrase "corporate union," in the sense of a union of two or more corporate bodies, suggests itself as a term which is clearly equally applicable both to the union of all churches and of any two or more. We could then leave the term organic union to designate the ultimate ideal of a completely unified Christendom. For the present, however, the use of the word organic union in both senses is so widespread that it is impossible to dispense with it. We shall, therefore, continue to use it to designate any form of corporate union which, under the terms of the union contemplated, carries with it the implication of finality.

4. The Scope of the Report

In the present study we shall deal primarily with questions of church union or, in other words, questions which affect the relation between the denominations themselves. This movement, as we shall see, has two main forms, often associated respectively with the terms federal union and organic union. The first takes its departure from the existing church organizations and tries to find means of

bringing about closer cooperation and fellowship between these. The second takes its departure from the conception of the Church as a whole and tries to find means of realizing the unity implicit in this conception. While independent in origin and in part in motive, the two movements are intimately associated and are coming closer together all the time. But there exists no single treatment which includes in its discussion both aspects of the movement and endeavors to point out the true relation between them. This lack we hope in a measure to remedy by the following pages.

But the movement for church union is itself a part of a much larger development, namely, the movement for Christian unity in the widest sense of which we have been speaking. This is at heart a spiritual movement, eluding our attempt at exact description or definition. Without the existence of this spiritual unity among Christians, any form of external or corporate organization would be empty and futile. To discuss our theme adequately, therefore, we must take this wider spiritual background into full account. But unity cannot exist in a vacuum. Wherever this spirit is found it must seek some form of expression, and such, as a matter of fact, we find to be the case. Quite apart from any formal and official programs of union put forth by the denominations themselves, there is a vast field of activity in which individual Christians have come together in associations and societies, or in which separate agencies or boards of churches have found means of working together in what we have called administrative union. All this field of cooperative endeavor falls properly within the scope of such a study as this.

And one thing more needs to be added. The various movements which we shall study in this report are themselves only the last of a long series of attempts to realize church unity. No one is qualified to deal with the problem today who has not informed himself of these

earlier attempts and learned the lessons which they have to teach both of success and failure. This historical background, too, we have included in our study as furnishing necessary material for those who would address themselves to the task of bringing about fuller unity among the churches today.

The task thus undertaken will determine the order of treatment. In the first place we shall study the experience of the churches during the war, with a view of discovering the measure of unity which it revealed and the lessons taught as to the way of securing greater unity in the future. In the second place we shall consider the present situation in the denominations and their attitude toward the question of cooperation and union. We shall then examine the present status of the movement toward various forms of union between the denominations. This will require us to distinguish between the movement for unity within local communities and those larger enterprises whose aim is a unity that is nation-wide. Consideration of this last will lead us to an analysis of the present problems involved in this movement, taking into account both the factors which impede and those which further it.

To this discussion of the existing situation we shall add certain historical studies that furnish a much needed background of information. The first will deal with the divisive and the unitive forces in the Church prior to the American period; the second, with the development of the denominations in the United States and their attitude toward one another at different periods. The significant attempts to secure united action among Christians by ignoring the questions at issue between the denominations, through such organizations as the Christian Associations, will also be studied. Finally, we shall review the efforts to secure united action among the churches themselves, and some of the more important influences that have worked in that direction.

We shall then be in a position to sum up the conclusions to which our study leads as to the principles which condition further progress, both in the present day and in the longer future.

The first part, dealing with the present situation, and the second part, furnishing the historical background, might well be read in inverse order. We shall, however, put the discussion of present practical problems in the foreground because of the urgency of the situation that we face today.

PART I

THE PRESENT SITUATION

CHAPTER I

THE WAR AND CHRISTIAN UNITY

The World War was one of those times of congested human experience when all the institutions of society are subjected to new and extreme tests and when their adequacy or inadequacy is vividly revealed. The Christian Church shared in this ordeal of judgment. Part of its testing was of its ability to see clearly and to hold tenaciously to its perennial mission, a mission which could not allow it to be reduced to a mere adjunct to the State absorbed in war. The Church had duties essential to the moral and spiritual life of the nation, as not only temporarily engaged in conflict but called also to live permanently according to Christian ideals. How well or ill the Church met all its tests we are not called on in this report to inquire. We are to consider here the one question of the light which the war threw upon the problem of Christian cooperation and unity as it emerged in connection with the war. How fully was the Church prepared to address itself to the special tasks which the crisis brought? What lessons did the war teach as to the ways in which the Church could meet its responsibilities more adequately in the future?

I. The New Demands upon the Churches

The war-time situation made new demands, insistent and inescapable, upon the churches. In the first place there was a host of unaccustomed tasks to be assumed. The ministrations of religion had to be provided for a multitude of persons suddenly plunged into an unfamiliar life, either in training camps or in centers of war indus-

try. A new responsibility of social ministry was laid upon the Christian forces of the country in connection both with the army itself and with the camp communities, on the moral character of which so largely depended the welfare of our men. Millions of other men and women, left disabled or destitute by the ravages of war, called for speedy succor by all who had the mind of Christ. To carry on these tasks new workers had to be secured, new machinery put into motion, and new contacts with governmental agencies secured. More important even than these obvious needs was that of maintaining high moral ideals and aims in the nation during a period when many influences were endangering them. And beyond all this there was the far more difficult task of keeping alive the spirit of international brotherhood, with foes as well as friends, in the day when of all days it was least easy to do so.

In the second place, and as a result of these new responsibilities, there was a demand for unity such as the churches had never before had to face. Without it it was hopeless to try to meet the situation in any adequate way. The task was too great for all together, to say nothing of attempting it piecemeal through unrelated agencies. The need for coordinated effort was all the clearer because so much of the work involved proper understanding with the national Government. Obviously it could not deal one by one with the churches as separate organizations.

Most clearly of all was the demand for unity among the Christian forces brought home to them by the unity which already existed in the nation at large. War is always both a test of unity and a stimulus to it, and this one was supremely so. Never did a war so demand a united nation. The tolerance of divergent opinion in the Civil War seems almost incredible in contrast with the social and political pressure for uniformity in the recent struggle. It presented the demand for solidified effort in

the most coercive form, perhaps, in which it has ever been experienced. The peril of a vast military domination of the world, a great body of common convictions, the sense of a great and, as it was believed, a righteous cause were good influences, with which many less worthy motives mingled, to lead men to hold their differences in abeyance while they joined in sacrifice and loyalty. Even though much that seemed to be unity was superficial and unreal, and much that was real possessed only a temporary vitality, yet beyond all doubt the experience of unity and the demand for it were in war time unmistakable.

The Christian churches, which already had more deeply unifying forces binding them together than existed in any other department of human life, and which represented the great fountains of moral purpose and spiritual ideal, were at once brought face to face with this experience and demand. If parties and classes and economic interests could unite, even at sacrificial cost, what forces—especially what kindred spiritual forces—could refuse to unite? Surely the Church of Christ, which had always declared itself to be essentially one and which by its very Gospel was a witness to the oneness of humanity, was challenged more than all other agencies to united action.

What agencies did the churches possess for such action when the nation was drawn into the war? For the circulation of the Bible they had the American Bible Society, and there were other specialized organizations capable of acting within their own limited spheres. For the new business, however, which was pressing hard upon them the available agencies of the churches were their own denominational boards or committees, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. We shall understand the problem of Christian unity more clearly if we note how each of these agencies sought to respond to the demands of the new situation.

II. The Agencies of the Churches for War-Time Service

The Young Women's Christian Association promptly undertook what proved to be an invaluable service. Upon it fell the responsibility of providing wholesome and uplifting influences for thousands of young women exposed to new dangers in communities surrounding the camps or in the midst of the industrial life to which the exigencies of war had called them. Overseas as well as at home ministry to women war-workers was so needed that its absence would have been a tremendous loss. Even within the training camps themselves it found a distinctive piece of service in maintaining hostess houses for women visitors and their soldier friends. Problems as to the sort of amusements to be sanctioned and as to the forms of direct religious service to be provided arose in connection with its functioning in these ways as an agency of united effort on the part of the churches, but its sphere of work was so clearly defined that there were no serious misunderstandings.

The work of the Young Men's Christian Association, however, was both so extensive and so interwoven with that of the other agencies of the churches that we need to consider it in greater detail.[1] Even before the United States had entered the conflict the Y M C A had been rendering a great service in Europe for prisoners of war. This work was both in itself a splendid enterprise and also a training that fitted it to give itself to the nation for service in the army in the name of the Church without a moment's delay after our declaration of war.

The entrance of the United States into the conflict showed the churches what an indispensable and effective

[1]For a fuller discussion of this subject, see the Report of the Commission on the Relation of the Young Men's Christian Association to the Churches, submitted to the Fortieth International Convention of the Associations at Detroit, November 19-23, 1919. The material here presented concerning the Association is in part a condensed statement of sections of that report.

agency for service they possessed in the Young Men's Christian Association. Without it they would have had no instrumentality for offering a united and adequate social and religious ministry adapted to the unprecedented necessities of the hour. The "huts" in every camp and every section of the army afforded centers of wholesome influences whose value cannot be exaggerated. The Association, with the specialized experience, organization, equipment, and resources which the churches possessed in it, was ready at once to offer to the Government a ministry whose absence, as we now look back, would have been an immeasurable calamity. It was a courageous offer. The magnitude and the difficulty of what was involved no one realized. As Bishop Brent writes: "The service rendered by the Y M C A in the army and navy was one of the most daring adventures that any society ever undertook. The exact degree of success it would be difficult to state, but this at least can be said, that conditions being what they were the work in the A. E. F. was indispensable."

The work in the United States was an even greater work and it was equally indispensable. The Association, in fact, undertook a complete program of physical, recreational, educational, and religious service. Its secretaries aimed not only to meet the needs of the men for a normal social life but also to carry on distinctly religious efforts, including Bible study, personal work, and popular religious meetings. This work the churches generally recognized as being undertaken in their behalf. Most of them cooperated in it heartily, not only in financial support but by generously furnishing their clergymen for its service. The Federal Council of the Churches, in special session at Washington, May 8 and 9, 1917, declared: "The churches should cordially sustain and reenforce the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, which is an especially equipped and well-tried arm of the Church for ministering to men in the camp." And the General War-

Time Commission of the Churches recognized "with grateful appreciation the varied, extensive, and indispensable service rendered to the American soldiers and sailors at home and overseas by those trusted auxiliary agencies of our churches, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association."

But while cordially recognizing the service rendered, the churches felt for various reasons that there were functions which they were called to discharge which lay beyond the province of the Young Men's Christian Association. The Christian soldiers must have the sacraments and provision for church worship. The churches must keep in touch with their children in the Church's own name and character. It was true that this was, in part, the business of the chaplains, but it could almost be said that at the outset there were no chaplains. The churches realized that they must organize their influence for the double purpose of securing proper chaplains and of providing substitutes for them until they were secured. They believed also that even when the regular quota of chaplains had been provided there would be room for all that the churches could contribute in the way of voluntary chaplains and camp pastors to supplement the moral and religious forces in the camps. And they felt that in such an emergency as had arisen the different communions could not delegate their own duties to anyone, but must provide some denominational instrumentality of action. If each denomination did not have some real work to do now, what warrant was there for its existence at all?

No sooner, therefore, had the United States been drawn into active participation in the war than the various denominations began to seek some corporate denominational expression of their sense of duty. In many cases, no doubt, this effort was spontaneous and instinctive rather than reasoned and deliberate. It was a wholesome sign of vitality and alert power. It was, in general, animated

not by a sectarian or divisive or proselytizing spirit, but by a sense of responsibility and a genuine desire for service. There was the need of following with solicitude and care the young men whom the nation was calling out from their church homes. There was the task of securing chaplains and sustaining them. There were the home communities to be cheered and steadied. There were the camp neighborhoods to be guarded and purged of the evils which have ever sought, in war and peace, to prey upon young manhood. There was the need of keeping the moral ideals of the war clear and pure and, if it might be, Christian. The nation and the world were in need of all the educational service and the spiritual illumination and strengthening which the churches could possibly supply.

The work which the commissions did constituted a great ministry to the higher interests of the nation. They related each local church and each denomination as a whole to the moral and religious service of the country, so that every group felt its conscious relationship to the task which fell to the Christian Church. They thus opened a way for the enlistment of every individual in the religious work of the war time. They supplied the chaplains for the armies, and also the great company of camp pastors and voluntary religious workers, who did so much direct pastoral work in the camps and the camp communities. They furnished church worship and the sacraments, often in the Y M C A buildings cordially opened to their use. They supported the Red Cross, the Y M C A and the Y W C A. They moulded the moral tone, the devotion, the unselfishness, the fortitude, and the faith of the nation.

It was interesting to observe the methods of the different denominations as they dealt with this situation. In the case of those which have annual official meetings and which met in the spring immediately following our country's entrance into the war the problem was simple. The

great assemblies set up at once denominational war commissions, authorized to act in the denominational name. Where there were no such meetings various plans were used. And the emergency proved a sufficient test. It was found that neither the Methodist nor the Episcopal Church, which by reason of their episcopal organization have been regarded as especially efficient administratively, was so constituted as to cope readily with the difficulty. By a stretch of his powers the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church authorized Bishop Lawrence to take action and a very effective, but somewhat *ultra-vires,* war-time organization was set up. In the Methodist Church the responsibilities of the emergency were left to the Board of Home Missions, until the acute pressure of the war experience itself led the Bishops to develop supplementary agencies.[2]

One of the most striking things about these denominational commissions was that their organization, point of view, and lines of action bore testimony to the underlying community of view and feeling in the American churches. No other institutions in America acted with more identity of mind and spirit. They set themselves to almost identical forms of service. There were many obvious differences, but they were as nothing in comparison with the significant evidence of the substantial unity of mind and temper characteristic of our churches. There were a few which believed that they were particularistic and different, but the interesting fact, almost the amusing fact, was the similarity of spirit and ideal. Actions spoke louder than words. Our American

[2]The nature and functions and activities of all the denominational war commissions are fully set forth in one of the reports of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, entitled "War-Time Agencies of the Churches," which can be secured from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. That volume will repay careful study as an exhibit of the denominational conscience responding to the pressure of a great duty, and as an illustration of the modes of action and types of life of our denominational personalities.

churches revealed their unity of character as a present reality.

III. The Problem of Unity Which Emerged

At the same time it cannot be denied that the situation created by the denominational war commissions brought with it grave dangers—the dangers of overlapping and collision, of divided counsel and divided influence, of separate and mutually weakening representations to the Government, of the loss of the power of united appeal to the nation both for support and for action, of missing great opportunities which required, if they were to be grasped, a unity of effort which the separate organizations could not supply. The churches enjoyed the advantages of the widely distributed authority and administration. They lacked the power of united and coherent action. The long delay in securing legislation concerning chaplains and the failure to seize more quickly the opportunity for life enlistment of the soldiers and sailors in the service of the Church were outstanding illustrations of the utter inadequacy of denominational action alone. It was obviously impossible for the Government to deal with the denominations as separate and unrelated units. At the outset the Food Administration, desiring to secure the cooperation of the churches in conservation, tried to get in touch with them one by one. With the multiplicity of religious bodies the task was hopeless. It was equally out of the question for the churches to denominationalize the appeal to men in the army for Christian life service. If ever our youth were ripe for some great and heroic call, they were ripe for it then. They had heard the united voice of their country speaking and they replied to that united voice. If the Church wanted those lads for Christian service, it was necessary to approach them with one heart and one appeal.

Not only the relation of the denominations to their common war-time tasks but also the relation of the Chris-

tian Associations and the churches to each other presented a problem of alarming proportions. Here was the Y M C A on the one hand, acting in the name of the Church and drawing upon the Church for resources both of workers and money, yet entirely apart from ecclesiastical direction or control. On the other hand the churches, through their own commissions, were carrying on a work which was in many respects similar to that which the Associations were doing. In the field of distinctly religious work both were engaged. However defined and delimited their respective tasks might be, it was inevitable that at least in many local cases friction should arise. The problem of unity that emerged was clearly a serious one. And what would in any case have been a problem of large proportions became even more insistent, because so much of the war-time work of the churches demanded almost constant contacts with the Government and its various official or semi-official agencies, to which there had to be a united approach or practically none at all. With the War Department, the Navy Department, the Commission on Training Camp Activities, the Food Administration, the Red Cross, the U. S. Employment Service, the Department of Public Health, the War Camp Community Service, and still other bodies important relationships had to be maintained.

It was in part because these dangers were foreseen, but still more in response to the impulse to unity to which we have already referred, that early in the war the General War-Time Commission of the Churches was called into existence by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. At the outbreak of the war, the Federal Council was the one interdenominational agency in existence directly representing the churches of the United States. As soon as the war came it called a special meeting at Washington, to which were invited leading representatives of the denominations and other Christian agencies. This meeting took steps for dealing with the

questions of the chaplains and securing as much united action in other war service as possible. During the period before the General War-Time Commission was organized the Federal Council itself carried on many important war-time activities. It secured new chaplains with high qualifications and initiated legislation for an increased number. It investigated the conditions in the training camps, cooperated with the Red Cross and the Food Administration, helped to unify the work of the local churches in some of the camp communities, and in other ways showed how useful to the Church a permanent and flexible interdenominational agency may be.

In the fall of 1917 the General War-Time Commission was organized and given a free hand by the Federal Council to act for the American churches as a central agency. Its organization was described as follows, in an official statement, formally adopted by the Executive Committee:

"The General War-Time Commission of the Churches is a body of one hundred persons chosen from the different religious agencies which are dealing in direct and responsible ways with new problems which the war has raised.

"It had its inception at a meeting of the Federal Council at Washington on May 8 and 9, 1917. The discussion at that meeting developed the fact that some representative national body would be needed to act on behalf of the churches in their effort to deal with the new problems raised by the war; and the Administrative Committee was authorized to take the necessary steps to bring this about."

In the same statement the constitution of the Commission and its relation to other agencies were thus defined:

"The Commission is made up of members of the denominational war commissions and other denominational war service bodies, of interdenominational agencies like the War Work Councils of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Associa-

tion, the National Sunday-School War Council, the organization of Young People's Societies, the American Bible Society, and the commissions and committees of the Federal Council. Its executive committee includes members of these various bodies and agencies, and its advisory council consists of the chairmen or secretaries of the larger denominational war commissions. It is cooperating with the War Commission of the Roman Catholic Church and with the agencies of our Jewish fellow-citizens in matters of common concern, such as securing the appointment of an adequate number of chaplains and improving moral conditions at home and abroad. With the permanent commissions of the Federal Council its relations are necessarily close and intimate and in all that concerns war work the officers and the commissions of the Council and the General War-Time Commission are working together."

The purposes of the Commission were defined at its first meeting as follows:

"1. To coordinate existing and proposed activities and to bring them into intelligent and sympathetic relationship so as to avoid all waste and friction and to promote efficiency.

"2. To suggest to the proper agency or agencies any further work called for and not being done.

"3. To provide for or perform such work as can best be done in a cooperative way.

"4. To furnish means of common and united expression when such is desired; and, finally,

"5. To provide a body which would be prepared to deal in a spirit of cooperation with the new problems of reconstruction which may have to be faced after the war."

In the organization of the Executive Committee and of the committees appointed by it the controlling principle was to build up the membership out of the responsible executives of the existing war-time agencies. Meeting every fortnight, it served to bring together in intimate contact and regular conference the accredited representatives both of the denominational commissions and of other organizations like the Y M C A. Its members were,

in effect, liaison officers bringing the various agencies into cooperative relationships in the formulation of policies and programs and in carrying out such as could best be executed by a common agency. The importance of this principle of organization in securing confidence and hearty denominational support it is difficult to overemphasize.

Setting out with such aims and with such an organization, what did the General War-Time Commission of the Churches actually achieve?

In the first place, it provided a needed clearing-house of information for the many organizations engaged in wartime service. Various agencies were studying certain parts of the new field of work from the standpoint of their own particular interests. None was studying the field as a whole. Through a series of surveys the Commission secured, and made available for all, information concerning needs and opportunities for religious work in the camps. Through a painstaking first-hand investigation it ascertained the special needs of Negro troops and brought them home to the various religious and welfare organizations. A special inquiry was made into the situation in army hospitals, which influenced the appointment of both regular and voluntary chaplains to deal with an urgent problem. The Commission kept in touch with the changing personnel of chaplains, camp pastors, Y M C A secretaries, and the workers in the various posts, and supplied the information to the several organizations for use in their dealing with one another. It was thus able to suggest to the proper agency needs still unmet and to make it possible for each organization to see its own work in relation to the work of other agencies and to the task as a whole.

In the second place, the commission established more correlated effort and generous cooperation among the existing agencies. Through the meetings of the Executive Committee better mutual understanding of plans and pur-

poses was secured. In its membership were included representatives even of some churches which had not been associated with the Federal Council, such as the Southern Baptists and some of the Lutheran bodies. The work of the denominational camp pastors was unified to a considerable degree by the joint formulation of a common program and by a series of conferences of camp pastors held in different sections of the country. The Y M C A and the churches came to a better understanding through a special committee of conference between the Association and the churches. The relations of the churches to such welfare agencies as the War Camp Community Services were clarified by occasional conferences for this purpose. With the National Catholic War Council and the Jewish Board for Welfare Work informal cooperation was secured in matters affecting the moral welfare of the army and navy. Effective cooperation with the Red Cross and many governmental agencies was also made possible.

In the third place, the Commission afforded an agency of united expression for the Protestant churches. In its calls to prayer and in its frequent emphasis upon the moral aims of the war, the Church spoke with one voice and did much to sustain moral idealism and deepen the spirit of penitence among the people. In its appeal for war-time prohibition the sentiment of all the churches came to a needed focus. In approach to the Government in behalf of needed legislation for the chaplains it brought the total influence of the Church to bear.

Finally, the Commission functioned as a common agency for doing certain tasks which could best be done by the Church as a whole. It secured the appointment of about fifteen hundred well qualified army and navy chaplains, and gave them the united support of the churches in the endeavor to have them provided with equipment, organization, and rank adequate to the performance of their duties. The chaplains' training school

was established by the Government as a result of the united pressure of the churches. Interdenominational chapels for the use of chaplains and camp pastors were erected at Camp Upton and Camp Dix. The problem of the religious and moral welfare of the workers in centers of war industry was tackled by a joint committee representing the Commission and the Boards of Home Missions. Programs for war-time service by local churches were formulated. A campaign for recruiting for Christian life service among the men in military service was inaugurated by a joint committee representing the Y M C A and the churches. Through cooperation with the Government's educational program for the American Expeditionary Force, it was made possible for theological students to begin their professional training while still in service. An interchange of service between the ministers of America and those of Great Britain and other Allied countries was arranged, with a view to welding the nations together in moral and religious idealism. A cooperative financial campaign in behalf of the war-time work of the churches was inaugurated and carried through.

Serving as a clearing house of information, a coordinating agency, a means of united expression, and an instrument for joint administration, the General War-Time Commission of the Churches enabled the churches to present a united front in facing new problems and responsibilities. While carrying forward their several denominational activities separately, the churches associated in this central Commission worked together effectively in a spirit of helpful and sympathetic cooperation, avoiding competition and duplication of effort in the full knowledge of what others were doing. It is not too much to say that the Commission succeeded in large measure in carrying out the purpose which it set before itself when it declared at its first meeting:

"The Commission will do its work in close cooperation with the existing agencies and commissions or other war

agencies in the various communions, and with the interdenominational agencies already at work. It will seek to serve them all as a clearing house of information and as an agency of sympathetic coordination. Its purpose is not to replace or duplicate, much less to check any activity directed toward dealing with the task which is too great for all the forces which can be brought to bear upon it. Its purpose is to support and strengthen all such influences in the fullest measure, to the end that the churches may be able to render the largest service to the young men of the nation and to the nation itself in this great and critical time."

IV. The Problems of Unity Which Remain for the Future

Without some such agency as the General War-Time Commission it would have been hopeless to expect that friction, duplication of effort, and confusion could have been avoided. We have seen that before the Commission was organized, lack of contact with one another's plans and points of view had given rise to misunderstandings both in the relation of the denominations to one another and between the denominations and the Y M C A. It would be altogether too much to say that complete coordination was secured even after a common meeting ground had been found in the Commission. Beyond question, however, long steps were taken in this direction.

The experience of the Commission in endeavoring to secure cooperation among the war-time agencies brought certain questions clearly to light, which remain permanently before the churches after the crisis of the war has passed. The problems involved in the relation of the churches to the Y M C A, of the denominations to one another, and of both to various welfare organizations, which were the great problems during the war, are no less serious today. What light does the war experience shed upon these problems for the future?

The Relation between the Christian Associations and the Churches

Beyond all question there was during the war no adequate provision for a proper understanding between the Association and the churches in the framing of general policies and programs. The need for such understanding arose at the outset of the work. It was illustrated first of all in the failure of the Association to take into account the regular chaplains—the representatives of the ministry in the army, appointed to their service by the Government itself. Here was a permanent agency of the churches in the army which should have been recognized by the Association. But as a matter of fact it was a long time before such recognition was given in any adequate form. Again, the organization of the Association made no clear provision for the definition of its relation to the churches. Its War Work Council consisted at first almost wholly of laymen chosen by the International Committee and its Executive Committee was confined to laymen. It became necessary, accordingly, to provide in some other way for securing the counsel and advice of the clergy of the churches and a Cooperating Committee of the Churches was established. These representatives of the ministry, however, were named not by the churches but by the Association. Still the Committee served a very useful purpose and indeed for a short time it filled the place of the Religious Work Bureau. A further point of contact between the Association and the churches was afforded by the presence of representatives of the Association on the Executive Committee of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches. In these ways it became possible to deal with the acute problems of the war time and a situation was worked through whose delicacy and difficulty are known to but few. But the central fact is that personal friendships and voluntary arrangements had to bear the

burden of the heaviest task we have ever met in the matter of the relations of the Association and the Church.

Under the procedure which was followed by the Association, based on no definite understanding with the churches and making no provision for any direct participation of the churches in the control of the Association, projects were put forth largely in the name of the churches but over which the churches had no control. The church workers appointed by the denominational commissions had no regular relation to the Association, but were in many cases in the camps only by its sufferance or courtesy. The Y M C A was definitely accredited by the Government but the effect of the course which it pursued was, in large measure, to leave the Church without the means of making a contribution to the soldiers and sailors in ways that the latter recognized as coming directly from the churches.

Clearly the relation of the Association to the churches remains still to be solved. If it is to be recognized as a direct agency of the churches, some way must be found whereby the churches as such may be democratically and directly represented in connection with the governing bodies of the Association. If it is to be a voluntary agency, measures must be taken for establishing channels of constant consultation between it and the denominations as to its general policies and plans. In any case, the relation must be more clearly understood. And although in the case of the Young Women's Christian Association the question did not come to so sharp a focus in the war, the same thing is true. This question of the cooperation between the Associations and the churches is so important that it will be considered in detail in a later section of this report.

2. *The Relation of the Denominations to One Another*

Even more urgent than the problem of the relation of the Associations and the churches is that of the relation

of the churches to one another. Here also certain facts stand out that are of large significance today. It is clear that in the war the churches had a task bigger than all of them together could do, parts of which were indivisible. There were duties which could not be taken up by any group in isolation. But whatever necessity there was during the time of war for helping one another by mutual encouragement and conference and united action, we have today under circumstances no less trying and exacting. What lessons, then, have we to learn from the war experience for the future?

We have learned, in the first place, beyond any question that we need a collective guidance. No one of us has wisdom enough to handle even his own duty in isolation. There are problems rooted in all the fiber of humanity that cannot be dealt with by segments of humanity or of the Church. We require all the wisdom and trusted guidance that the churches together can possibly supply. And we must have such collective guidance while our programs are in the making, rather than in the days of hardened completion. Then the forces that thus come together become more in their aggregate than the total of those separate forces added together. Such liaison was the essential condition of efficiency in every department of our national and international experience during the war. We can write the history of those years as the effort of men to achieve this kind of correlation, to secure interchange of knowledge, of purpose, and of plan among all the agencies at work. The progress made by the churches in securing this kind of interrelationship during the war must be completed by some permanent provision, either through existing agencies or through some new machinery for a full correlation of knowledge and plan among the different denominations and the several interdenominational agencies.

We need, in the second place, not only a collective guidance in planning, but also coordination in the execu-

tion of the plans. All agencies must see their work as elements in a larger whole and carry it on accordingly. When this is the case it will be found that some things which have been done separately by various agencies can be done more effectively by one. The General War-Time Commission began with the primary purpose of affording a common meeting ground for consideration of plans, but it soon became evident that there were things which the churches could do together better than individually. In any case, there must be a full coordination of the forces which aim at common ends and of programs which cover common ground. To realize all this more clearly has been a great gain. It can never be an open question again as to whether the Federal Council, or something that more fully fills that ground, is an indispensable necessity. It is settled once and forever by the experience through which we went in the war that we must have an effective agency of interdenominational cooperation.

Beyond the need for collective guidance in planning and coordinated execution of the plans there is, in the third place, the need for a united interpretation to the world of what the churches aim to do and are actually achieving. In such a crisis as the war the churches could be really heard only if they spoke with one voice. This is no less true today. They have a common message to the world. Again and again that message needs to be interpreted and applied to contemporary issues that can be solved aright only as they are solved in the light of the Christian Gospel. The necessity of providing together for such interpretative publicity as to the work of the Church and the bearing of Christianity on the life of the day is one of the clearest lessons of the war.

In the fourth place, the experience of the war has more fully revealed to the churches the necessity of definite denominational responsibility for their cooperative action. This has not been any new discovery, only a larger application of what had already been ascertained

and was already existent in some measure within the Federal Council. In the commissions of the Federal Council there had been two types of associated action. In one the president of the Council selected individuals and brought them together in a commission with a wide range of action. In the other method the aim was to correlate the organic activities of the denominations. The latter method did not afford the same freedom, but it did give a larger weight of authority and responsibility. The General War-Time Commission of the Churches, as we have already pointed out, made use of this second method, bringing together the existing war-time activities of denominations. Some said that in their war work the churches were making a mistake in this regard and emphasizing denominationalism. But there has been during the last few years a great growth of the sense of denominational personality and we do not want to break that down unless there is something better to take its place. To confine the cooperative endeavor of the churches chiefly to bringing together in an effective way the really responsible denominational agencies may doubtless seem to limit freedom and prevent progress. That method may, indeed, hold back some of the more far-visioned and enthusiastic men, but it has its compensation in the greater spirit of unity that accompanies advance. It is essential that we keep together the men who represent the organic responsibility of the different communions and seek to get ahead by mutual understanding and interchange. It will be a great pity if as we go forward we do not conserve all the gains of the past, even if it makes some of us impatient because the progress is not so rapid as it might be if we could detach ourselves from these official relationships.

In the fifth place, we have learned something about the spirit and the attitude that are indispensable to cooperation. We have seen clearly that denominational coordination cannot be secured simply by readjustments of

constitutional relationships, or by theoretical allotments of power and authority. These have their place. But this problem which the churches are facing is a problem of service and personal relationships. The only kind of instrumentality that will adequately meet this need and fill this field must be one that is marked by institutional disinterestedness. This was a large factor in securing hearty cooperation in the General War-Time Commission. It was generally recognized that it existed solely to serve the churches. The important thing is that any agency that sets out to work for the churches should lose its life in the doing of it, seeking no honor whatever of its own. Some of our problems spring from our forgetting that. We have learned also through the war that in this interdenominational cooperation the churches must frankly face and solve the problem of supplying a leadership that is neither too strong nor too weak. We cannot have a successful leadership if it is so strong that it breaks away from its following and coerces it, nor, on the other hand, if it is lacking in courage. It is not easy to know just where the line should be drawn. The problem of leadership is difficult because it is concerned with the fundamentals, because our problem is not one of mechanics, nor of external adjustments, but the hard problem of love, of confidence, of the freedom, power, and strength that invariably go with life.

We have seen, too, even more clearly that the pathway of cooperative advance lies through the field of action and embodied service, rather than through the field of theoretical discussion. There were hosts of differences of opinion among the agencies cooperating in the war-time service of the Church, but in spite of them the churches were conscious that they were one, as together they faced the magnitude and urgency of their tasks. The power of embodied undertakings has come home to us in a new way, so that we know that we deal best with our problem of cooperation as we objectify our

ends, and set before men tasks to be done, definite goals actually to be traveled to and arrived at.

Here we find ground for hope as we look ahead. If unity comes through common service our opportunity is before us. Now, as in the war, great tasks confront us, before which we shall be relatively impotent if we cannot deal with them in cooperation. We have still, as we had then, the necessity of proper relationships with agencies outside our churches—with the Jews and the Roman Catholics, with the Government, with great welfare agencies like the Red Cross, with organizations that aim to mould public opinion along lines of social betterment. All these are carrying on significant work, with certain parts of which the churches need to cooperate heartily for the sake of their own goal. But this they cannot do unless they can act together. And there are other and greater common enterprises within the Church. The problem of Christian education, the solution of which is vital to the very life of Christianity, the problem of Christianizing all our social and industrial relationships, the problem of adequately enlisting men and women for the service of the Church, the problem of our missionary obligation to the non-Christian world and of securing a brotherly spirit among the nations—all these are challenging us to a cooperative advance, because we shall never be able to solve them along our old lines of division and separation. They are indivisible tasks, and, if we will attack them together, afford the clearest pathway to interdenominational unity.

Finally, and most important, the war revealed to us how great a spirit of unity we already possessed. It made it clear that what is needed is not so much to create a unity as to provide external forms for the expression of the inner unity that we already have. This being so, we may be sure that the movement for cooperation and union is going to grow year by year with increasing power. We may make mistakes. It is conceivable that we should

make such colossal mistakes as to destroy any existing agencies of cooperation, so that new agencies would have to be set up in their stead, but as sure as there will be a sunrise tomorrow another agency would be set up in their place, because we are in a great movement from which we can never draw out or be drawn back. The only question we face today is whether we are going to be courageous enough, disinterested enough, wise enough to discern our time and to pass into this time with instrumentalities really adequate for the tasks that lie ahead.

It is in the light of the challenging demand for union that the war brought home to us and in spite of the increased incentives to it, that we must interpret the intensification of denominational consciousness which we have witnessed since the war. The reasons for this are no doubt complex. In part, it seems to be due to a discontent with the undenominational organizations which operate in the Church's name but which are not responsibly connected with the churches or inspired with the full consciousness of the Church's life, historic character, and spirit of worship. In part, the intensified denominational activity has arisen from a conviction that in churches as well as in nations autocracy and colossal waste are generally characteristic of efforts on a highly centralized scale, and that democracy and efficiency call for a wider distribution of authority and action by smaller units. Is not denominationalism after all, men ask, more economical and more efficient than a centralized organization that ignores financial frugality and places on individuals more authority than men can exercise with wisdom and real power? With this has gone a distrust of super-leadership and a certain justifiable hesitancy in entrusting to any men or small group of men the great power that goes with a united body. There has been, moreover, a reaction toward freedom from the restraint and pressure of the war. In churches

as well as states centralizing tendencies have, at least temporarily, relaxed.

The new denominational consciousness, however, has another side. It rests chiefly upon a growing sense of unity and corporate responsibility within the several denominations. This has been greatly stimulated by the war. Christians whose horizon had hitherto been bounded by the local church, or by the missionary outlook in the more narrow sense, realized far more clearly that they belonged to communions with nation-wide, yes, with international, responsibilities. In part, at least, as a result of the war-time activities there was a heightened sense of denominational responsibility which found expression in such movements as the Presbyterian New Era, the Baptist Victory campaign, and other forward movements. In the case of one great family of churches, the Lutheran, organic union was achieved on the part of a number of bodies, and for the first time in their history nearly 1,000,000 Lutherans find themselves in possession of an agency for common action and for common expression.

The criticism of this revived denominational consciousness as if it were a foe to Christian unity, is therefore unjustified. Only those groups can unite effectively which have such a sense of their own corporate responsibility that they are already at one within themselves. But this has not generally been the case with the individual Christian churches. The differences which express themselves on a large scale in the rivalry between denominations reappear on a smaller scale in the dissension between parties and schools of thought within each denomination. And the unwillingness to surrender power to a central organization, which has kept the individual Protestant churches apart from one another, has, with few exceptions, prevented each of them from creating within itself a unified agency which is regarded by all the elements in the Church as having the right to speak and act for the whole. Whatever, therefore, unites Christians within

each denomination may be regarded as a necessary step toward that larger unity which unites them to their fellow-Christians of other names. So the new denominational activity is not to be thought of as narrowly sectarian. With few exceptions it is more brotherly and cooperative than it has ever been.

What is the actual situation today, both within the several denominations and in the interdenominational field, and what is the pathway to fuller unity, we shall consider in detail in the following chapters of this report.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE DENOMINATIONS

Christian unity—it can never be too often insisted—is no less a task to be achieved within each denomination itself than between the different communions. In this chapter, therefore, the attempt is made to analyze the present situation in the various denominations with regard to progress toward further unity, the discussion in each case centering chiefly around two considerations:

1. What is the degree of spiritual unity within the denomination itself and how far has this inner unity found expression in outer organization? Each of the larger denominations presents such a diversity of religious temperament and conviction as to be in itself almost a microcosm of the larger Church of which it is a part. If, then, we can really discern the bond of union among Christians within each of the several denominations, we may have a valuable clue to the principle on which a more inclusive union may be developed.

2. What is the present attitude of the denominations toward (a) cooperation and (b) union with other churches? The purpose here is to make clearer what steps the existing mood and temper of the denominations now make practicable.

In this survey space forbids a consideration of all the denominations. In those, however, which are discussed it is believed that the various types of Protestant Christianity are represented, and that their attitudes may be regarded as illustrative of other bodies.[1]

[1] In dealing with the several denominations the authors, of course, are not speaking in any official capacity. They are simply interpreting the situation as they personally see it from within their own churches.

I. The Congregational Churches and Unity

During the first two centuries of its history Congregationalism, like most other Protestant bodies, was not greatly affected by any of the influences that make for church unity. In so far as it entertained the thought of unity, there was the vague expectation that its own informal and liberal structure might win general acceptance. In the phrase of some of its later leaders, it hoped to be "the solvent of the sects." It was suspicious of organized integration, because it was convinced that organization had always stood in the way of freedom.

1. *The Development of Unity among the Congregational Churches*

With the beginning of the missionary era, a hundred years ago, the various forces that make for unity began to be gradually felt in its life. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Home Missionary Society (1826), and the American Missionary Association (1846), did not represent corporate action by the Congregational Churches, but they all sprang from Congregational roots and were predominantly supported by Congregationalists. It never seems, however, to have occurred to their founders to make these organizations sectarian.[2] Coincident with the thought of their projection was the thought of their inclusiveness. In like manner the "Plan of Union" between Congregationalists and Presbyterians,[3] which prevailed for several decades about the middle of the century, was an expression of the non-sectarian spirit. When analyzed, however, these and like undertakings are seen to be, so far as Congregationalism was concerned, not deliberate and pos-

[2] For a fuller account of the inclusive character of these organizations, particularly the American Board, see pages 290-295 of this volume.

[3] For an account of this important "Plan of Union" see pp. 285-289 of this volume.

itive movements toward unity, but partly the result of structural weakness and partly of a general sentiment of good will toward kindred bodies. It was needful that the development of events should teach Congregationalism that definite inner unity must precede effective outward cooperation. Such development came rapidly. One denomination after another withdrew from the mission boards named above, leaving them wholly to Congregational support. The "Plan of Union" proved unsatisfactory to both parties and was abandoned by mutual consent. What appeared to be a promising movement toward union dissolved and disappeared. Its vestigial remains are seen in the word "American" still used by two of the Boards and cherished by Congregationalists as an earnest of the day of union still to appear.

The solidifying of the structural life of Congregationalism began with the Albany Convention of 1850. Up to that time it had had no national voice whatever. Its common tasks had been initiated and conducted by groups of individuals or semi-official state bodies. At Albany it entered into a broader consciousness of its responsibilities. This was strengthened by the calling of a National Council in 1865 to consider post-war problems. Following this in 1871 there was organized, though with many doubts, a permanent National Council. Its authority was nil and its mandate of leadership slight. But it was a long step forward. Between that date and 1900 progress was slow. Apparently the extensive theological readjustment of that era diverted attention from questions of organization. With the beginning of the present century there was a quickening of pace. The functions of state organizations were broadened until the present condition was reached, in which the state organization (save in a few exceptional cases) acts administratively with full authority for the churches within its bounds and at the same time places at their disposal such inspirational leadership and helpfulness of over-

sight as it is capable of furnishing and they are disposed to use. Similarly, the National Council acts for and serves the churches in the national field. The national mission boards are subject to its general control. Through its officials and commissions it offers a wide variety of inspirational and educational service.

The process described has proceeded in all essentials to the limit which the nature of Congregationalism permits. The assignment of judicial or legislative functions to a representative body would mean that Congregationalism had become something other than itself. Such transformation is not generally desired by Congregationalists and would not be acceptable.

2. *The Attitude of the Congregational Churches toward Union with Other Churches*

Some have asumed that because of the process above described there has been a steady movement away from the spirit of unity toward hard-and-fast denominationalism. Precisely the reverse is the truth. Congregationalism in developing its own structure has become both capable and desirous of fusing with others, either in cooperative or organic union. The completest marriage is between persons of supreme individuality. So of organizations. The Congregationalism of a hundred years ago might have been absorbed by another body. It could not have united with that body. The Congregationalism of today can and will enter into union with others when the way shall open.

Like all denominations, Congregationalism has its family ties. At the outset of its history its closest connection was with Presbyterianism. This was due partly to the fact that both sprang from the Puritan movement in England and Scotland and partly to the fact that as pioneers in America, working side by side, they acquired the intimacy which marks pioneer life. The early tie persists but it is much less close than at an earlier day.

In theory Congregationalists and Baptists are of the same household, since their historic roots are intertwined, their polity is the same, and their emphasis upon liberty is identical. In practice, however, it can hardly be said that there has been any peculiar and marked sense of kinship between the two bodies.

The Unitarian Churches inherit jointly with the Congregational Churches the first two hundred years of their history. Since the schism of the early years of the last century their paths have diverged. The question is often asked whether the time has not come when the breach should be healed. A full discussion of the factors of the problem would require more space than is available here. It can only be said that in the judgment of most Congregationalists any movement toward reunion is now impossible. This does not mean that Congregationalists are willing to assume an attitude of irreconcilable antagonism toward the Unitarian body. On the contrary, there is the desire to recognize whatever of common outlook is possessed by the two communions and to cherish the hope of a coming day when the barriers of separation shall be removed. But that day has not yet arrived.

Mention should be made in passing of the influence of many individual Congregationalists in the direction of church unity. The efforts of these individuals are the more significant because they have been in some sense accepted by the Congregational Churches as expressive of their spirit. Long years ago Washington Gladden wrote "The Christian League of Connecticut," a pioneer utterance concerning interchurch cooperation. It is nearly forty years since Francis E. Clark projected the Christian Endeavor Society, one of the most daring and practical assertions of the essential oneness of disciples ever made. In later years Howard H. Russell, a Congregational minister, organized the Anti-Saloon League which, retaining throughout its character as an alliance of the churches, has won the most conspicuous

battle against a public evil of all history. Still later Elias B. Sanford, after a lifetime of agitation for unity, succeeded as old age drew on in founding the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In Massachusetts, where Congregationalism has its largest strength, Rev. E. Tallmadge Root, one of its ministers, has been able to develop a state federation in which all Protestant bodies share and whose influence is felt to every remotest corner of the commonwealth. These are outstanding examples of a kind of service which the Congregational Churches have rendered through men and women whose ideals they have fashioned.

Congregationalists, in common with their fellow-Christians of all communions, recognize that questions of interdenominational relationship are becoming every day more insistent and important. Thorough discipline of recent years has revealed the weakness of disunity and the limitations even of cooperative effort. The appalling need of the world in these days when social rebuilding proceeds so haltingly challenges us to think things through and to fashion a course sensitively responsive to the call of the hour. What is Congregationalism's answer to that call? A consensus of opinion among its churches could probably be expressed in such statements as the following:

a. Congregationalism seeks to unify its own life as a prerequisite to the wider unification for which it prays. It seeks this inner unity primarily as a spiritual achievement, through a common vision of Christ and a common devotion to His cause. It seeks it also as an organic achievement, through the strengthening of its organizational structure so that it can address itself with all its powers to common tasks.

b. It perceives the necessity of such an ordering of its life as will enable it to speak and act effectively in its relationship with other denominations. It is wholly averse to the creation of agencies empowered to issue

orders to its churches or its members. It is, on the other hand, wholly desirous of maintaining agencies which, acting within their legitimate advisory bounds, shall so sense the mood of their constituency and so justly estimate the duty of the hour that their advice shall constitute a bond of unity and a basis for united action.

c. It desires to enlarge its realization of the corporate oneness of the Church of Christ and to think of all questions with which it has to do in terms of relationship rather than in terms of an isolated individualism. In so doing it can abate nothing of its emphasis upon the liberty which is the inalienable right of every believer and of every group of believers linked together in covenant bonds. It simply seeks to find richer expression for that liberty through ampler recognition of those compulsions of love which are upon all the parts of the body of Christ.

d. It wishes to cherish and magnify its relation to the historic Church of Christ. The creeds, the sacraments, the traditions and the annals of that Church it counts its own. It refuses to break with the past. Though it cannot repeat all the affirmations or follow all the customs of that past, it sees in them all the effort of men upon whom rested the Spirit of God to give expression to the one changeless Gospel of Fatherly love and divine redemption. Believing this, it thinks of its own future as identified with the future of other bodies cherishing in their way the continuity of the faith. It clings to the word "evangelical" and desires to fill it with fullest content of meaning.

e. It recognizes the absolute necessity and duty of cooperation among the forces which seek to build the Kingdom of God. Such cooperation may sometimes be in temporary and local forms; sometimes it may shape itself upon far-ranging and permanent lines. For either or both the denomination stands ready, in so far as it can perceive that it will serve the cause of Christ. Considerations of denominational gain or loss must be

set aside. The sole problem is how to find a way by which all the Church can use all its powers in the service of all the world.

f. It believes that by the roadway of cooperation the churches will come and ought to come to some type of organic union. Just what this should be is wholly beyond the power of anyone to answer. Presumably we shall find that the goal to which we are being led is that of unity in diversity. How it will express itself organically, remains to be seen. But it is wholly certain that each denomination must reach the point where it is ready to cast aside its name and all other unessentials in the interest of the higher ends sought. In like way it must be prepared for the sake of those ends to accept forms and methods wholly out of line with its past, provided always they do not involve disloyalty to conviction of truth or the sense of duty.

With these beliefs and desires, Congregationalism looks out toward the future. It believes that denominationalism has rendered the world a great service. It believes also that its day is well nigh past and that the greater service of the coming time is to be rendered by a united Church.

II. The Disciples and Unity

The Disciples arose in the opening of the nineteenth century in the Presbyterian household, out of a desire for freedom in the practice of catholicity of religion. Fellowship with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ was the dominating thought in the minds of those who formed the nucleus of this movement, which was first called "The Christian Association." The Seceder Presbyterians, with whom the Campbells were identified, practiced close communion, against which they revolted. Not wanting, however, to be separated from the Presbyterian household, they sought membership with the regular Presbyterian Church. They were refused fellowship there,

because they maintained that all creedal statements as tests of fellowship were destructive of unity in the Church and, therefore, that the Westminster Confession of Faith, valuable as an historical document, should not be made a test of fellowship. After several years the leaders of this movement accepted immersion as the only Scriptural baptism, which separated them still further from the Presbyterians and at the same time made possible their association with the Baptists. In order to avoid being a separate denomination they identified themselves with the Baptists, hoping in that denomination to be able to work out their plans for the unity of the Church. But here also they proved unwelcome and the relationship was dissolved.

1. *The Degree of Unity among the Disciples*

Since 1832 the Disciples have been a separate body, but have continued to bear witness to the necessity of a united Church. Following these separations and changes of denominational relationships, however, there came a period of debate and controversy, in which the original purpose of the movement was obscured. Two interpretations have prevailed among the Disciples. The first had to do with Christian unity and grew out of a concern for the union of the whole Church, upon which they believed the conversion of the world to depend. The other had to do with the restoration of the primitive Church, so that the movement came to be called by many "the Restoration Movement." This second position received considerable impetus in the Baptist fellowship and with those who insisted on it Christian unity received secondary consideration, the major emphasis being put upon a return to the practices of the primitive Church. Zeal for this latter interpretation so dominated the thought of the Disciples for a time that they unconsciously shifted from their original desire for a larger Christian fellowship. During this period they gradually took on all the denom-

inational characteristics, maintaining denominational journals, denominational colleges, denominational boards, denominational conventions, all of which tended to obscure their original purpose in the eyes of other Christians.

This policy, however, so separated them from other communions that in their isolation they became in many instances as sectarian as those communions surrounding them, which is always the result of isolation, irrespective of what one's doctrinal beliefs may be. This was so marked that as late as 1908, on the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the affiliation of the Disciples with that organization had to be by individuals rather than by the action of their General Convention, whereas had they been true to the principle of their origin they would have been first and foremost with both men and money in founding the Council, seeing in federation one of the steps in cooperation that lead to the larger unity of the Church.

The increasing unity of spirit among the Disciples themselves is well illustrated by the recent consolidation of official boards of the Church. Their organized missionary work is now better unified than at any time in their history. All of their missionary boards have been united in one organization, under the title, "United Christian Missionary Society," including home missions, foreign missions, church extension, benevolences, women's work, and the department of the ministry.

2. *Attitude toward Church Union*

There have always been many among the Disciples who have clung to the original catholicity of the movement and in recent years this number has been greatly augmented. Of their nine national boards one—the Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity—is devoted solely to the interest of Christian unity. It was organized at their General Convention in Topeka, Kan-

sas, in 1910. Its purpose is to watch for every indication of Christian unity and by friendly conferences with other Christians, by intercessory prayer, and by the distribution of irenic literature, to hasten the time of union. While the offerings to this board are not large, nevertheless to maintain such a board at all indicates that the Disciples have a background for unity and an awakening interest in the principle which gave their movement its origin. Through this board they are in hearty accord and cooperation with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the American Council on Organic Union of the Evangelical Churches in America, the World Conference on Faith and Order, the Universal Conference on Christian Life and Work, the American Bible Society, the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, and every other movement that looks toward the union of Christendom or permanent friendship between the nations.

Through their Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity the Disciples have held conferences with leaders of most of the Protestant bodies in America and some in Europe. Out of these conferences has come the formation of local unions of churches of the Disciples with other bodies, as well as the joint signing of doctrinal agreements with the leaders of various communions. Some of these documents have been of historic significance, such as the resolutions passed in Australia by representatives of the Church of England and the Presbyterians as a basis for corporate reunion, revised and signed unofficially in New York by Episcopalians and Disciples in 1913; likewise the five-fold agreement signed in Philadelphia by Presbyterians and Disciples on March 23, 1916, and ratified that year by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Convention of the Disciples. A significant agreement between Congregationalists and Disciples was formulated in 1912 and published in the papers of the respec-

tive communions, upon which a number of churches in small communities united, followed by later agreements signed in New York in 1918. Articles of agreement were also signed by Christians and Disciples in Norfolk, April 3, 1918.

Through their Association they conduct a large correspondence on Christian unity with persons in all communions in all parts of the world. Their office is a depository of all kinds of literature on Christian unity. Their outgoing mail on this subject averages 25,000 pieces a year. They maintain a League of Prayer, which, like their literature, is shared by persons of all communions, praying constantly for the union of the Church of Christ. They have named Pentecost Sunday as a day for special prayers and sermons on the subject of Christian unity. They are issuing a set of books from the outstanding points of view on Christian unity, the authors being from various communions and of various nationalities. The first volume has already appeared, serving as an introduction and dealing with the necessity, growth, and outlook of Christian unity. The next volume will be by the Lutheran Archbishop of Upsala, and the remaining volumes will cover the whole field of Christian unity as seen by some of the apostles of reconciliation in the House of Christ.

The Disciples do not seek so much for others to come into their membership as for others to accept certain principles that they believe make for unity in the Church of Christ. These may be simplified into the following six proposals:

a. A catholic name for individuals, such as "Disciples," "Christians," or similar term; and for the whole body, such as "Church of Christ," "Church of God," "Christian Church."

b. A catholic creed, such as that expressed in the words of the Apostle Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

c. A catholic book—the holy Scriptures—as sufficient for the rule of Christian life.

d. A catholic administration of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper as practiced in the New Testament times and with the use of Christ's words.

e. A catholic polity of church government, recognizing the universal suffrage and priesthood of all believers.

f. A catholic brotherhood, holding fellowship in the Lord's Supper with all who have received Jesus as Lord and Saviour.

Indications among the Disciples of growing interest in Christian unity are encouraging. With a larger understanding of others and more sympathy with those from whom they differ, it is safe to say that the Disciples, who started out a hundred years ago with a primary concern for the unity of the Church of Christ, are still profoundly interested in this subject, even though they differ among themselves in interpretation and methods of approach.

III. The Lutheran Church and Unity

The attitude of the Lutheran Church toward church unity is determined by its belief concerning the nature of the Church. That belief is clearly stated in the Augsburg Confession as follows: "They teach that one holy Church is to continue forever. But the Church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered. And unto the true unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments; nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men, should be everywhere alike; as St. Paul saith, 'One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.'"

1. *The Unity within the Lutheran Church*

This confession is subscribed to by Lutherans of all shades of opinion, and from its statement two things are

apparent: first, the vital importance of the congregation; second, the supreme importance of faith and its confession. The unity of the Church can consist in nothing else than in unity of faith, and the unit of the Church must always be the congregation in which that one faith is confessed.

The practical effect of this conviction is evident in the worship of the Church. The Lutheran Church possesses an exceedingly rich liturgical heritage which permits of extensive and varied elaboration. The liturgy is published by church authority, but no Lutheran congregation is bound to the use of that liturgy; the mode of its worship is entirely within its own control. This same principle of freedom is applied in the whole field of church organization. A congregation is free, if it so desires, to ordain its own pastor, the right of a synod to control ordination being a delegated right. No one form of organization is regarded as divinely instituted, and therefore legally binding, upon the Church. A church body may be episcopal or presbyterian in its form of government, and yet be recognized as a Lutheran Church, provided it does not insist that every church must be so organized. Thus the Lutheran Church shows a larger variety and a greater number of independent ecclesiastical organizations than any other church in the world.

Because of this fundamental principle the Lutheran Church has not been greatly concerned about the subject of organic union, either with other churches or within itself, believing that unity of organization is no more than a means to an end, and can be vital only as the expression of unity of faith. The Lutheran Church is fully persuaded that there *is* one Church of Jesus Christ, and that all who can truly be called believers are already within this one Church. Admitting the advantages of external union when it is a real expression of inner unity of faith, it believes that such external union is valueless unless based upon a common confession.

It is from this point of view that recent movements within the Lutheran Church must be interpreted. The number of independent congregations is negligible and is decreasing annually; the use of a Lutheran liturgy is becoming the external mark of a Lutheran congregation; the Lutheran church bodies in America are approximating a single type of organization. The cause is in each case the same, namely, that the congregations are increasingly conscious of a common heritage of faith.

The same principle applies to the movements for organic union within the Lutheran Church. They have progressed more rapidly and have assumed larger practical importance than any similar movements in American Protestantism. Before 1890 the relatively small number of Norwegian Lutherans in America was divided into five separate and distinct synods. In that year three of these synods combined to form the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America; in 1917 this body united with two others to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. The new body contains six-sevenths of all the Norwegian Lutherans in the United States and Canada, with a communicant membership of 300,000. In 1918 the three general Lutheran bodies which represent the oldest Lutheran church organizations in America (the oldest of the synods dating from 1746) combined to form the United Lutheran Church in America, with a membership of 750,000 communicants. Both of these mergers have established new ecclesiastical organizations, and are movements of organic union in the very strictest sense. The merging bodies have surrendered their separate identity entirely and have given up even their names. Since 1872 the Lutheran Synodical Conference has been in existence, and has drawn into its membership at various times synods and parts of synods until it now contains 830,000 communicants. The present situation in the Lutheran Church in America may, then, be summarized as follows: It contains all told approximately 2,500,000

communicants. One third of these are in congregations of the United Lutheran Church; a second third are in a dozen or more independent synodical bodies, four of which contain three-fourths of all the communicants; the remaining third are in the Synodical Conference.

All of these movements for unification have rested on the conviction of community of faith. That they have developed rapidly within the last five years is due to the growing recognition that this community of faith is really a fact. Feeling themselves to be actually one in the things which they believe to make a church, the merging bodies have considered it a privilege as well as a duty to enter into the closest possible fellowship.

Since 1917 the Lutheran Church has had two general organizations which cannot be regarded as in any sense unions of the church bodies concerned, but which have brought these bodies together in close and important cooperative efforts. These organizations are the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare and the National Lutheran Council. The Commission, organized in 1917 for the purpose of caring for the spiritual welfare of the Lutheran young men in the national service, included all the larger Lutheran church bodies and most of the smaller ones, with the exception of the Synodical Conference, though even that body did cooperate for a time in some of the activities of the commission. The Council was organized in 1918 by representatives of the same bodies which had previously formed the Commission. Its purpose was to secure cooperation, where possible, in matters that lay outside the powers of the Commission. The bodies cooperating in the Commission and the Council comprise two-thirds of all the Lutherans in America.

The work of the Council has been chiefly overseas. It has standing commissioners to the Lutheran Churches of Europe and has formed connections with the Lutherans of practically all the European countries. These con-

nections do not look toward an international organic union of Lutherans, but have been formed only as a means for affording aid in the present distress of the European churches. The work that the National Council is doing at home extends only to the point of cooperation in those objects which do not involve confessional unity on the part of the cooperating bodies. For although the synods cooperating in the National Lutheran Council recognize each other as truly Lutheran bodies, nevertheless there are differences between them on points of faith and practice which are still a barrier to a general union. Thus the movement represented by the Commission and the Council, like the others which have been mentioned, rests upon a recognition of inner unity, and the organizations are merely an expression of the degree of unity which is recognized as already attained.

2. *Attitude toward Cooperation and Union with Other Churches*

Among many of the Lutherans of America there is a growing conviction that they need to speak clearly on the whole subject of the cooperation and the organic union of the Protestant Churches. Heretofore they have quite generally contented themselves with holding aloof from such movements and speaking on the subject only to their own people, but they are beginning to feel that they owe it to themselves and to American Protestantism to make their convictions plain to everybody. There is among them an increasing desire to find ways of cooperation with other Christians and to clarify the problem of organic union by securing a recognition of the principles on which such a union must rest. This desire is felt most strongly in the United Lutheran Church, but it is shared by many outside that body.

The following is a summary of an official declaration which was adopted by the Convention of the United Lutheran Church in October, 1920:

a. The Church of Jesus Christ is the fellowship of all believers, the "communion of saints." Its existence is an article of faith, which cannot be demonstrated, but which is asserted in the Scriptures, and is a necessary consequence of belief in the continued life of Christ in all His followers and in the efficacy of the means of grace. Of this Church we believe that it is one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

b. The one holy Church performs its functions and makes its presence known through groups of men and women who confess their faith in Jesus Christ. These groups are known as churches, and each of them—congregation, denomination, or what not—will inevitably seek to realize the attributes of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church.

c. The true function of the churches, therefore, is the confession of faith, the preaching of the Word of God, the administration of the sacraments, and the performance of works of serving love.

d. In their relationships to other churches, every church should always be ready to declare unequivocally what it believes about Christ and His Gospel, and to show that it has truly interpreted the Gospel. It should grant cordial recognition to all agreements with other similar groups, approaching them without hostility, jealousy, suspicion, or pride. At the same time, it should not neglect to bear witness to the truth when it believes others to be in error. It should seek to cooperate with others in works of serving love, provided always that such cooperation does not involve suppression of testimony to truth, or acquiescence in error.

e. On the basis of these principles the Lutheran Church believes that the only sound method of approach to organic union is one that will definitely establish the extent of the agreements and disagreements in faith between the churches which it is proposed to unite. It is convinced that until larger unity of confession is at-

tained than now exists, it must maintain its separate identity as a witness to the truth which it knows.

f. Resting on the same principles, it is convinced that the Christian desire for cooperation must be limited in practice in such a way that it shall not be led into acquiescence in error or forced to a suppression of testimony to truth. For this reason it believes that proposals for cooperation among the churches should be accompanied by a definite statement of fundamental principles drawn from the gospels and embodying the essential content of the Christian message. Indeed it stands ready to propose such principles.

g. On the basis of such principles the United Lutheran Church, at least, will be ready to enter into cooperative movements with other churches, provided three conditions are satisfied, viz.:

(1) These principles must not be denied, either in theory or in practice by the cooperative movement.

(2) The cooperating churches must not be limited, while participating in cooperative movements, in their confession of the whole truth which they hold, even though that truth may not be held, or not held in the same way, by all those who are cooperating.

(3) The purposes of cooperation must lie within the proper sphere of church activity, which is the preaching of the Gospel, the administration of the sacraments, and the performance of works of serving love. It does not extend to the enactment and enforcement of law or the application of external force of any kind.

IV. The Methodist Church and Unity

1. *The Unity within the Methodist Church*

Methodism, whether in England or America, has divided not on questions of doctrine but upon those of practice and polity. In America there have been organized protests against slackened zeal and surrender to

"worldliness." Disregard of the rights of the laity to representation in the conferences and assertion of the rights of pastors to participation in the arrangement of the appointments have caused withdrawals from the central body. Especially has resistance to the fact and the tendency of the episcopacy created discontent and defection. It is interesting to note that the actual number of Methodists to be accounted for in these sincere and intensely conscientious movements is relatively small and that many of the causes of separation have long since been removed.

The difference of judgment and conviction concerning slavery was an important underlying cause ~~of some~~ of the early divisions and entered deeply into the controversy resulting in the division in 1844, which left the Methodist Episcopal Church as one—the larger—fragment of the church, chiefly in the North, and led to the organization of the other fragment—the conferences which withdrew —altogether on the border and in the South, as the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In a true interpretation of Providence, slavery was the cause of this separation. As a matter of fact, a question of ecclesiastical procedure was the immediate occasion. Two schools had arisen during the sixty years of the church's organized life, the one holding that the final authority in the church was vested in the episcopacy, the other that this authority inhered in the General Conference—the supreme law-making body of the church. Undoubtedly once the separation had occurred, the profound moral issue involved in human slavery came to be regarded as the essential difference between the two bodies.

One in origin, in doctrine, in spirit, in method, in ultimate aim, it was inevitable that men of good will in both these great branches of Methodism should seek for some common ground. Fraternal delegates from each to the General Conference of the other have long stirred both the churches by declarations of good will and avowals

of high purpose. The membership of both is so vast that the discussion of union or "unification" is with multitudes almost wholly academic. But to the leaders in the churches, to the membership of each in the normal territory of the other, and to the ministers and the people in the conferences which interplay throughout the broad belt which we call the border, the issues involved seem immediate and vital.

At the historic conference at Cape May in 1876 the two commissions appointed by the respective General Conferences of the churches adopted a "Declaration and Basis of Fraternity." This cleared away long cherished misunderstandings and opened the way for the negotiations of two score and more years. The progress has not been rapid, to say the least, and yet those who have marked the increase of personal friendship, the fading away of misconceptions, the attrition which has worn away obstinate prejudice, and the actual gains in the common agreements reached from time to time, have been assured that the hope for a reunited Methodism is something more than a dream.

Proposals which have looked toward "unification by reorganization" have been under the consideration of a joint commission of representative men of both churches during the four years past. A plan which involved a distribution of territory into regional conferences, with large local autonomy, made provision for a General Conference with central authority in all matters connectional, established a judicial conference or court with certain legal powers, and while fixing certain limitations recognized the need of enlarged self-government in the Church in foreign fields, was wrought out with great care by the Commission. It was transmitted without recommendation to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at its quadrennial session at Des Moines in May, 1920. After most careful consideration it was neither accepted nor rejected. Three major objections to

it were presented in discussion: first, that it discriminated against the Negro in the matter of representation in the highest legislative body; second, that it inadequately recognized the rights of the rising Church in foreign lands; third, that its plan for regional conferences was at once unwieldy and divisive. Many were convinced that for an ecumenical church some plan for subsections which would provide for local autonomy is essential, and that a way should be found to correct the disadvantages placed upon the constituencies overseas and to secure equality of treatment for the Negro membership. The General Conference reconstituted the Commission, relieving it of previous restrictions, expressed desire that the General Conference of the other church would continue its Commission or create a new one, and presented for the favorable consideration of the Methodist Church, South,[4] a plan for a popular convention consisting of from 200 to 400 from each church, in which more broadly representative assembly the whole question of unification should be considered.

This is the present technical status in the relationships of the two largest Methodist bodies in the United States. There is disappointment that a more conclusive result has not by this time been attained. There can be no doubt that the two great churches at heart profoundly desire union in some form, and among many of the leaders the purpose to achieve the desired end is deeper and more ardent than ever.

In addition to the significant efforts of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are the friendly tendencies of smaller groups toward closer affiliation and the definite proposals of the large organizations of Negro Methodists for union among themselves. Long since in Canada the several branches of Methodism have become one church; in Australia

[4] The General Conference of the Methodist Church, South, meets in 1922.

union has been practically accomplished; in Great Britain in 1907 was consummated the union of three bodies into one, and this new organization and the others remaining are moving as rapidly as conditions will allow toward that complete union which will be really a merger of all these historic British groups into one Methodist Church. The study of the facts and the appraisal of the present temper of Methodists throughout the world results in the conviction that "Methodism is now," as a recent writer has said, "an unbroken fellowship. Not only has the spirit of conflict disappeared, but it has given place to an unmistakable desire for reconciliation and reunion."

There can be no doubt that Methodists of every name are characterized by the consciousness of a common heritage and of close kinship. There is a "sense of birthright" and of intimate spiritual fellowship. Its delight extends to every group and member of the family and in it are present solidarity and the basis for an inevitable union ultimately. This can be understood only when it is remembered that the "primary idea of Methodism lies in its emphasis upon experience"—not upon emotion or sentiment but upon a conscious personal relation to God through Christ which means assurance of forgiveness, deliverance, spiritual power, and joy. Methodism was not primarily a protest against the theology of the day or a reaction against any ecclesiastical constitution. A careful English interpreter has said:

"The fundamental identity of Methodism is the apprehension of the supreme and universal love of God as the essence of the Gospel, of man as made for the fellowship of that love, of sin as withstanding it, of grace (in Jesus Christ) as atoning for sin and enthroning the love of God once more in the heart. The conditions under which Methodism arose led to its concentration upon this master truth. It attracted those who experienced its vitalizing power. This is the bond of union between its members throughout all its branches. When this bond weakens it falls to pieces at once."

The search for this spiritual experience was the quest of devout souls long before John Wesley found in it the glowing center of a new religious life for himself and for those to whom he unceasingly proclaimed it, and the recognition of it as the rightful possession of all to whom God is Love as well as Law, to whom Jesus Christ is a living Lord as truly as He was the crucified Saviour, is limited by no denominational tradition or barrier. None the less it is typically a mark of Methodist life, permanent and universal, is essential to it, and all branches of Methodism throughout the world respect it and seek to maintain it.

2. *Attitude toward Union with Other Churches*

The relation of Methodism in all its branches to other denominations depends not only upon its essential spirit, which is distinctly irenic in the field of discussion and sympathetic in the field of action, but as well upon the organization through which that spirit is finding expression. Out of the controversies which were inevitable in the united societies in England after John Wesley's death, when authority and liberty were adjusting themselves each to the other in an organization which was not during his lifetime a church, and in the untried methods of the new Methodism in this new world, have grown forms of administration which on the one hand have close affinity to those in some other denominations and on the other are distinctive and unique. The general superintendency, lay representation, the powers of the conference, the itinerancy, democracy in the local church, the connectional bond, all belong in some form to all branches of the Methodist family. The organizing process continues, rarely affecting the constitutional basis but adjusting and readjusting the non-essentials to meet new conditions and to give play to fresh forces. It is clear that Methodists are not exempt from that preoccupation with the methods of service which, in all bodies, so easily

suppresses the enthusiasm for the ideals of the spirit. The strain placed upon individual attention by a connectional system at once strengthens the sense of a wide-reaching fellowship in service and, quite possibly, at the same time limits this interest to the system itself. The range of denominational activities, in a membership of three or four millions, with every form of Christian institution represented, and with organized work in every land, is so extended that the consciousness of denominational divisions may easily be dimmed, and the lack of unity may be viewed with slight concern. It is quite likely, therefore, that without the least disregard for the devoted purpose of those forward-looking spirits among Methodists or among other denominations who feel the urgency of union, and with no denial whatever of the principles which warrant the effort to achieve it, multitudes in the Methodist groups—possibly it may be also true of other groups—are without eagerness, it may be, without care, concerning it.

On the other hand, three facts should stand out clearly in the survey of this subject:

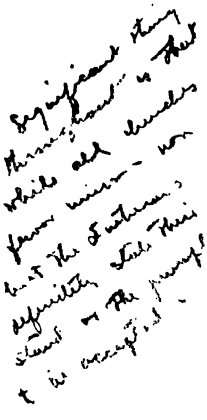
First: Among Methodists there are many individuals to whom the appeal for union comes as a divine command and who, in deed and prayer, work and wait for that consummation.

Second: In statement of belief, in Christian practice, or in church organization, there is no essential bar to unity of the spirit and none to a union in external administration which recognizes the truth of history and of the Word of God.

Third: Methodism has shown, and doubtless will show, in utterances and activities, that opportunities for comity, cooperation, and federation are always welcome to her, believing that if we are laborers together with God we are also, and primarily, workers together with one another.

In numerous instances this cooperative spirit has been

shown by organized groups as well as by individuals and it is in this direction that the hope for more complete union is most clearly to be found. Acts of cooperation, either individual or corporate, if developed into habit become far-reaching in their influence. The example of those who, while leaders in any denominational service, are also easily and happily at home wherever men of good will are in fellowship, is a cogent argument for the recognition of spiritual unity and tends toward the actual merger of the organized groups which now seem so sadly divergent. To increase these contacts and to multiply the number of those who participate in them is as definite a service for unity as are academic discussions of the "Quadrilateral" or debates upon rival theories of church government.



We might summarize this discussion of the Methodist Episcopal Church by saying that in any of its conferences or congregations a test inquiry would find a large majority ready for any feasible cooperation, friendly to definite federation, responsive to the appeal for organic union, and sympathetic with the ideals of those who seek to promote it, but incredulous as to its practicability. But the desire for a union as nearly complete as human conditions may allow is a growing experience in the thoughtful circles of Methodism. The will to produce this result is probably not strongly indicated in the thinking and activities of the denomination but, without doubt, warmest welcome awaits those conditions in the common development of the programs of the several denominations which will illustrate and promote the unity for which devout believers of every name constantly pray.

V. The Churches of the Northern Baptist Convention and Unity

1. *The Unity among the Baptist Churches*

While there is no authoritative creedal statement

among the Baptists, the fundamental Baptist contention may be said to have been the spirituality of Christianity. Among the principles and inferences to which they generally hold may be enumerated: the immediacy of the communion of the soul with God; the voluntariness of religion, with its application to the separation of Church and State and the baptism of infants; the equality and liberty of believers within the Church, from which would be inferred the democracy and the independence of the local church, and the denial to any man or any organization of the right to impose upon the individual believer the acceptance of any creedal interpretation of the Gospel; the spirituality of the Church, implying among other things a regenerate church membership. This is only a partial statement and there is wide diversity upon points which most Baptists do not regard as being essential. There is, however, a body of principles which are generally accepted among them and which constitute a very real bond of unity.

In addition to any unity of conviction, there is the tremendously vital principle of an organized and unified work. The bearing of this upon interdenominationalism would seem to be that the way to get together is to work together in a common task and to pray together for the common cause in which each denomination is trying to do its share. The unity created and fostered by the presence of a common task, together with great common convictions as to the supreme and undying truths of the Gospel, constitute the only basis of a bond of unity among the denominations.

The spirit of unity within the Baptist constituency of the North has been largely increased since the organization of the Northern Baptist Convention, which held its eleventh annual meeting in June of this year. The machinery of the Convention has been largely unified by the creation in 1919 of the Board of Promotion of about 150 members, representing in a very comprehensive way

the constituent factors in the Convention, such as the Executive Committee and the cooperating organizations —including the Foreign Mission Society, the Home Mission Society, the Publication Society, the standard city mission societies, the state conventions, the Board of Education, the Ministers' and Missionaries' Benefit Board, and others. It may rightly be said that the Board of Promotion in a very real way unifies the administrative machinery, as it has not been unified before.

As to organic union within the various branches of the denominational family, the so-called Regular Baptists and the so-called Free Baptists some time ago united their general work as a definite step toward organic union. There has still to come, if ever, any organic union of the Northern and the Southern Baptist Conventions. The work of each is thoroughly well established and probably the most that can be hoped for at present is a spirit of brotherliness and cooperation.

2. *Attitude toward Cooperation*

The denominational consciousness of the present day is strong, but it is not, in the main, a selfish or dogmatic consciousness. The great Christian denominations have no disposition to make apology for their existence or their organized life, but they eagerly desire and definitely purpose to work in loving and whole-hearted cooperation with their brethren of other communions. And such a spirit as this is a long way beyond that of toleration. Toleration is a far advance on intolerance, but toleration easily becomes indifference, and both are utterly inadequate to express the ideal relationship between bodies of Christ's followers. "Like a mighty army moves the Church of God." No regimental sacrifice of conviction, but above the flag of the regiment the flag of the army; above the standard of the denomination the banner of the Captain of the host. Not intolerance, not toleration, not indifference, but fellowship, is the rallying cry.

What are the grounds for fellowship?

One of the Christian statesmen of the day has said:

"It needs no prophet to foretell that this movement is bound to increase in volume and momentum. Men may question, criticize, and resist it, but it can no more be held back than the tides of the sea. There are tendencies at work which make this inevitable. Christian laymen will not much longer be patient with the existing conditions. The most discerning Christian ministers are themselves earnest in their advocacy of a change. Surely a closer and more practical drawing together of the different bands and companies of His followers cannot but be pleasing to our Lord and Master. The foreign missionary achievements of the Church in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in respect to division of the field, Christian comity, and cooperative effort, have been such as to afford convincing and inspiring evidence in favor of the widespread application of the same principles and methods on the home field."

It is perfectly safe to say that such a statement represents the vast preponderance of attitude and conviction in the membership of the Northern Baptist Convention.

So much misunderstanding has arisen concerning the action of the Northern Baptist Convention in its anniversaries at Buffalo in June, 1920, terminating its official relation with the Interchurch World Movement, that it may be worth while to record the accompanying resolutions, without which the spirit of the action and the attitude of the Convention cannot be rightly understood. Those resolutions are in part as follows:

"*Resolved,* That we hereby register our conviction that the evangelical denominations of North America have and hold so many interests in common that they should in all practicable ways cooperate for the promotion of their common purposes and the accomplishment of their common tasks, and that we do now and herein reaffirm our earnest desire and our cordial readiness to continue and to engage in such cooperative efforts with other evangelical Protestant denominations.

"*Resolved,* That we desire to reassure our brethren of the great Protestant bodies with whom we have

for the last year been associated in the incorporated organization known as the Interchurch World Movement of our fraternal Christian feeling and good will, and that we reaffirm the good faith and fraternity of spirit with which under the Denver resolutions we engaged to cooperate in the organization of the Interchurch World Movement, and our conviction of the abiding worth of the ideals and spirit which we together sought to embody in this organized movement.

"Resolved, That the Convention approve the continuance of existing relations with other well-established interdenominational agencies and that the General Board of Promotion at its discretion plan for further cooperative promotional work with other evangelical denominations and present the same in a report to the Northern Baptist Convention of 1921."

3. *Attitude toward Organic Union*

At the anniversaries of the Northern Baptist Convention held in Denver in May, 1919, a statement prepared by a convention committee was unanimously adopted as follows:

"Whereas, The Northern Baptist Convention has been invited to send delegates to a council looking toward organic union of the Protestant denominations, it is

"Resolved, That the Northern Baptist Convention, while maintaining fraternal relations with evangelical denominations in extending the influence of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, does not believe that organic union with other denominations is possible. It therefore declines to send delegates to the proposed council.

"In declining this invitation, however, Christian courtesy demands that the Northern Baptist Convention should state its position as to organic union with other Christian denominations. This we make not with any desire to pose as judge of our Christian brethren, but in the interest of mutual understanding.

"The Baptist denomination is a collection of independent democratic churches. Not one of these churches recognizes any ecclesiastical authority superior to itself. They are grouped in associations, state conventions, and a national Convention, but none of these groups has any

control over a local church beyond that which lies in common faith, practice, and service. The denomination, in so far as it has unity, is a federation of independent democracies. In the nature of the case, therefore, anything like organic union of Baptist Churches with other denominations is impossible.[6] There is no centralized body that could deliver Baptist Churches to any merger or corporate unity. If Baptist Churches do not have organic unity among themselves, they obviously cannot have organic unity with other denominations. By the very nature of our organization, we are stopped from seeking organic union with other denominations.

"This situation does not arise from any desire on our part as Baptists to withhold ourselves from fellowship with other Christian bodies in the pursuance of Christian work. Nor does it arise from any desire to impose upon them our own convictions. We grant to others all rights that we claim for ourselves. But the liberty of conscience and the independence of the churches which characterize our position are involved in our fundamental conception as to the nature of the Church and of its relation to the religious life.

"We believe in the complete competency of the individual to come directly into saving relationship with God. We hold that a church is a local community of those who have consciously committed themselves to Jesus Christ. The only Church Universal is, in our belief, spiritual fellowship of individual souls with God. We do not believe in any form of sacerdotalism or sacramentalism among Christians, who are all equally priests of the Most High. We reject ecclesiastical orders and hold that all believers are on a spiritual equality. With us ordination is only a formal recognition on the part of some local church that one of its members is judged worthy to serve as a pastor. The fact that such appointment is generally recognized in all our churches is simply a testimony to denominational good faith.

"We cannot modify these convictions for the sake of establishing a corporate unity with other denominations. Any compromise at this point would be an abandonment of structural beliefs.

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[6]It should be noted that in this resolution "organic union" is used in a narrower sense than in this report. Cf. pp. 194-202.

"We heartily believe in the necessity of a combined impact of Christian forces upon the evil of the world. Such impact, however, does not depend for its efficiency upon organic union of the churches. We are convinced that our fundamental conception of the Church, the nature of our organization, the democracy which is the very basis of our denominational life, make any organic union with groups of Christians holding opposite views unwise and impossible."

At the same anniversaries of the Northern Baptist Convention held in Denver a statement prepared by the Convention Committee on Faith and Order was unanimously adopted. It bears especially upon the matter of the validity of ordination to the Christian ministry and reads as follows:

"In the year 1910, the Protestant Episcopal Church in America requested the various Protestant denominations to appoint commissions to unite with it in calling and arranging for a world conference to discuss the questions of Christian faith and order. . . . Your Commission has had a number of informal conferences with representatives of the Episcopal Church. Its hope is that in a world conference we may arrive at some basis of faith and order upon which the divided Christian denominations may become united into one Church of God, and present a uniform witness of the Gospel to the world. . . . From meetings thus far held it has become evident to your Commission that the Episcopal Church stresses the necessity of Episcopal ordination as a primal necessity to validate the exercise of the ministry in the Church. It proposes, however, a concession to the non-Episcopal clergy who may be willing to accept Episcopal ordination at the hands of Episcopal bishops. Ministers of other denominations seeking such ordination shall not be required to accept the Episcopal *theory,* but only the *fact* of the Episcopate. It differentiates these terms; meaning by 'theory' the doctrine of an unbroken historic succession of the ministry traceable to the apostles; whereas by the word 'fact' it means that the Episcopal form of government has historically vindicated itself as desirable and efficient. In thus accepting the fact, without the theory, it hopes that the non-Episcopal churches,

especially the ministers, may without the sacrifice of any vital principle see their way clear to act upon the ground of expediency, and so meet what is to the Episcopal communion a matter of conscience. Your Commission has been unequivocal in its reply to these propositions. We have said to the Episcopal Commission with utmost candor that the trend of our views and attitude concerning ordinances, sacraments, and ministry of the Church are at such variance with its conceptions that we are convinced that its above-named overtures would not elicit the interest, much less a serious consideration, on the part of our Baptist people. On these grounds there is nothing to hope for in the direction of church union."

From the above statements it will be seen that there is little likelihood that the churches of the Northern Baptist Convention will participate in a definite movement toward organic church union at this time, unless the conditions of such organic union are materially modified from those which were under consideration when these statements were framed.

But the task before the Christian Church of today is too great for any one denominational body, or for all the denominational bodies acting as separate units without cooperative planning and endeavor. In such cooperation there surely is warrant for saying that the Northern Baptist Convention will participate fully and loyally.

VI. The Presbyterian Church and Unity

1. *The Unity in the Presbyterian Churches*

According to the Westminster Confession of Faith the Church consists of "all saints that are united to Jesus Christ their head," the bond of their union being the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. From this it follows that all the legitimate manifestations of unity are referable to the Spirit's presence. As the Holy Spirit is our Teacher, it follows that all true Christians agree in faith. As He is our Sanctifier, all those in whom He dwells

agree in their religious experience and are one in their inward spiritual life; and as the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Love, the command of Christ to His disciples to love one another is written in the heart by the Holy Spirit.

This spiritual principle has led Presbyterians to unite for the purposes of Christian worship, and to organize congregations for mutual watch and care, for the exercise of discipline, and for the propagation of the Gospel. Presbyterian colonists when they came to this country united with existing churches in New England or founded distinctively Presbyterian Churches. They were independent of one another until their ministers and elders came together voluntarily and organized a presbytery in 1706. This in time grew to a synod, and as the organization matured, an assembly was constituted in 1788. According to the constitution which was then adopted, the Assembly was made "the bond of union, peace, correspondence, and mutual confidence among all our churches."

This plan of organization has contributed to the unification of all the administrative work of the church, and each benevolent Board—as, for example, Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Education—is controlled by the entire church through the agency of the Assembly. Of late the Woman's Home and Foreign Mission Boards, acting hitherto independently of the Assembly, have become its appointed agencies. In order to unify the work still more effectively, the Executive Commission of the General Assembly has been empowered to confer with and advise the permanent benevolent and missionary agencies of the church and to take such action as may be necessary to coordinate and unify the whole benevolent and missionary work of the church.

The Presbyterian inheritance which is expressed in the standards of the church, and loyalty to which constitutes the inner bond among Presbyterians, embodies a certain spirit, to be found no doubt in other churches,

but which is specifically characteristic of Presbyterianism. This spirit may be called the Puritan spirit, which in its theology is Calvinistic and proclaims the rule of God in all departments and relationships of life, which in its polity stands for a representative form of government, and which in its worship and life advocates simplicity and freedom. It is this spirit which both holds Presbyterians together and enables them to cooperate readily with all who are seeking to establish the rule of God throughout the world.

The general attitude of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. regarding Christian unity may be summed up in the action which the General Assembly has taken from year to year and which is as follows:

"The Presbyterian Church holds Christian fellowship with all who confess and obey Jesus Christ as their divine Saviour and Lord, and acknowledges the duty of all churches that recognize Him as the only Head of the Church Universal to work together in harmony and love for the extension of His Kingdom and the good of the world; and this Assembly earnestly desires to commend and promote this Christian cooperation, and also practically to advance the cause of church union by confederation, and, where possible, by consolidation among the churches of the Reformed Faith, which are most nearly akin in doctrine and organization."

For the past seventeen years a permanent Committee on Church Cooperation and Union has been at work under these official instructions from the General Assembly:

"Resolved, 1. That a Committee be appointed by the Moderator to consider the whole subject of cooperation and confederation and consolidation with other churches.

"Resolved, 2. That this Committee be instructed to enter into correspondence with any churches of the Reformed family with whom, in the judgment of the Committee, such correspondence would be likely to promote closer relations.

"Resolved, 3. That this Committee shall report to the next Assembly such plans and measures as seem to

them wise, proper, and profitable for the advancement of fraternal relations, for the increase of harmonious work, and, if God shall open the way, and incline the hearts of the churches thereto, for the reunion of those who hold the same faith and order in the service of Christ."

As a result of the Committee's negotiations, organic union with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was effected in 1905. At the meeting of the last Assembly (May, 1920) the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, with a communicant membership of approximately 15,000, was received into the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

For the past ten years a Council of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches has been in continuous operation. Through it the constituent bodies have become better acquainted with one another and have agreed upon rules of comity and methods of cooperation in benevolent and missionary work. Meanwhile, promising negotiations for closer union have been carried on between the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., and also the Reformed Church in the U. S. The Synod of the Reformed Church in the U. S. at its meeting in June, 1920, authorized its Committee on Church Union to carry on negotiations with the Presbyterian Committee on Church Cooperation and Union with a view to the consolidation of the two bodies.

Growing out of the Council of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches a movement has been inaugurated almost simultaneously in the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., the Reformed Church in the U. S., the United Presbyterian Church, and the Reformed Church in America, in the direction of closer relations and a more effective missionary cooperation. A tentative Plan of Union has been approved, whereby a United Assembly is to be constituted with the title of "The United Assembly of the

Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of the United States of America" which shall represent in one body all the churches united therein and shall constitute the bond of union, peace, and correspondence among all the congregations and courts of the constituent churches. It is to be the declarative, executive, administrative, and judicial agency of the united churches, and shall possess such ecclesiastical powers as are to be delegated to it when the cooperating churches shall have agreed upon a constitution. This movement gives hope that in the not far distant future the leading Presbyterian and Reformed Churches will be united in one Christian communion.

2. *Attitude toward a More Inclusive Union*

The third resolution of the General Assembly, quoted above, authorizing the appointment of the Committee on Cooperation and Union, included an official declaration of hope for the reunion of all "those who hold the same faith and order in the service of Christ." The Assembly, consequently, responded promptly to the invitation to share in the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order, approving "the steps thus far taken by the Committee on Church Cooperation and Union in the matter."

In the Assembly of 1918 overtures were received from various presbyteries concerning the organic union of all American evangelical churches and petitioning the Assembly,

"That it overture the national bodies of our sister communions to hear and prayerfully consider a program for church union.

"That the General Assembly name a time and place, as early as possible, for an interdenominational council of evangelical churches.

"That our Assembly state frankly in this call, that the purpose of the Council is to discuss, and if the way be clear, to adopt a definite plan of organic church union."

In recommending action thereon the following resolution was adopted:

"The Committee on Bills and Overtures, before recommending action, desires to congratulate the General Assembly and through it the whole church, that these overtures show that there is an earnest desire for church unity growing in power in the hearts of many, and a determined effort put forth to accomplish the same.

"It is to be noted that our church has long been forward in its expression and effort looking toward the reunion and union of the evangelical churches of America.

"The Committee recommends the following action:

(1) That we, the Commissioners to the One Hundred and Thirtieth General Assembly, now in session at Columbus, Ohio, do declare and place on record our profound conviction that the time has come for organic church union of the evangelical churches of America.

(2) That this Assembly hereby overtures the national bodies of the evangelical communions of America to meet with our representatives for the purpose of formulating a plan of organic union."

Following this action the Committee on Church Cooperation and Union took the lead in convening the Council on Organic Union which assembled in Philadelphia, February 3 to 6, 1920. The Plan of Union for Evangelical Churches in the U. S. A. which was then formulated was approved by the last General Assembly and ordered to be sent down to the presbyteries for their action.*

Concerning the special question of organic union on the foreign field the following action was taken at the Post-War Conference held in Princeton, June 19 to 28, 1920, when the twenty-seven missions of the Presbyterian Church were represented:

"We gladly record our gratification that our Board is now working in cooperation with at least twenty-nine other Boards in various fields, and is in organic coopera-

*The Plan of Union is printed as Appendix II of this report.

tion in at least forty-four educational institutions, and that the definitely established policy of the General Assembly and the Board is that expressed in the action of the Board, May 15, 1900, and specifically approved by the General Assembly of that year, as follows:

"'Believing that the time has come for a yet larger measure of union and cooperation in mission work, the Board would ask the General Assembly to approve its course in recommending to its missions in various lands (in line with the General Assembly's action of 1887, Minutes p. 23, having in view building up independent national churches holding to the Reformed doctrine and the Presbyterian polity) that they encourage as far as practicable the formation of union churches, in which the results of the mission work of all allied evangelical churches should be gathered, and that they observe everywhere the most generous principles of missionary comity; and, further, it is voted that the Board now adopt the statement of policy prepared by its special Committee on Policy and Method, and submitted to many of the missionaries and approved by them, as follows:

> "'In the view of the Board, the object of the foreign missionary enterprise is not to perpetuate on the mission field the denominational distinctions of Christendom, but to build up on scriptural lines, and according to scriptural principles and methods, the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. Where church union cannot be attained, the Board and missions will seek such divisions of territory as will leave as large districts as possible to the exclusive care and development of separate agencies. It is believed that in other regards also missionary comity should be given large range. . . . Fellowship and union among native Christians of whatever name should be encouraged in every possible way, with a view to that unity of all disciples for which our Lord prayed, and to which all mission effort should contribute.'"

VII. The Protestant Episcopal Church and Unity

The Protestant Episcopal Church offers no exception to the general observation that men who were actively interested in church unity previous to the War are more

deeply interested in it now, while those who were then conscientiously sectarian are even more conscientiously so at present. There are those within the Episcopal Church who would go to the extreme limit of useful sacrifice if through any effort of theirs the churches might be drawn more closely together; there are others, equally earnest, who would welcome unity if other communions would accept the polity and point of view of Episcopalianism.

There are, however, certain signs of a desire for union which are more or less characteristic of the Episcopal Church in general. They may be divided into three classes: signs that the Episcopal Church is already somewhat of a microcosm of church unity; signs that it is interested in a larger and more comprehensive unity than now exists; signs that it is taking steps toward an actual union.

1. *Signs that the Episcopal Church Is Already Somewhat of a Microcosm of Church Unity*

In its organization it has, as closely as possible, conformed to a kind of federal system. The framers of its constitution, being also in certain instances either the framers of the Constitution of the United States, or in close association with them, naturally leaned toward the federal idea. As in the national organization so in the ecclesiastical, the will of the smallest unit is carried higher until it reaches the center, and, vice versa, the decisions of the executive are submitted to the component parts of the church. The will of the people is expressed in the clergy, wardens, and vestry of the parish; the will of the parish is voiced in its clerical and lay delegates to the diocesan convention; the will of the diocese is expressed in the clerical and lay delegates to the triennial convention of the entire church. The church, therefore, while preserving in great detail parochial and diocesan freedom, recognizes a central deliberative authority. It is the

replica of city, state, and nation. The recently formed organization called the Presiding Bishop and Council further unifies the church in the practical despatch of the will of the Convention. Under its immediate direction are placed the missionary, the educational, and the social activities of the church. It will be readily seen, therefore, that the widest margin of local freedom is secured while a very real central authority is maintained.

In the matter of the liturgy a wide latitude is consciously and unconsciously allowed in the interpretation of its formularies. From an historical point of view such a latitude was evidently in the intention of the compilers of the Prayer Book. Actual signs of such intention may be seen, for example, in the use or in the omission of the sign of the cross in baptism, and in the permissible alternative of pouring or immersion; in the substitution of "He went into the place of departed spirits" for "He descended into hell" in the Apostles' Creed; in the more and less priestly sentences used by the bishop in the ordination of priests. Actual evidence of such latitude may be found in almost any congregation. It is a well-known fact that many people ally themselves with the Episcopal Church simply because they like the Prayer Book form of worship, unaware of any demand the Prayer Book may make upon them; there are others who interpret literally and still others figuratively; there are those to whom the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds appear as literal statements, and there are those to whom they are more in the realm of poetry.

Another sign that the Episcopal Church is already somewhat of a microcosm of church unity appears in the actual varieties of faith within it. Within the same congregation there are people who look upon the office of bishop as essential to the being of the church, and people who regard it as a useful institution that has stood the test of time. There are some whose conception of the sacrament of the Holy Communion approaches that of the

Romanists, others who believe in consubstantiation, others in the so-called spiritual presence, others still who hold the memorial view. Also with regard to the conception of God points of view differ as widely as the poles. The Incarnation is accepted as a matter of course. But the implications of the Incarnation as to the person of Christ vary with the temperaments of individuals. For some the Incarnation and the Virgin Birth are inseparable, for others they are separable; for certain types of mind Jesus is the perfect man and therefore one with God, for contrary types of mind He is almost indistinguishable from God. Some worshipers regard the trinitarian phraseology as language of theological exactness, while others use the words because they describe, as well as words can, their religious emotions.

In fact, it would seem that practically all types of religion and theology might be found within the Episcopal Church at present. All the way from a faith that closely resembles the more richly emotional kinds of Unitarianism, to the faith that is closely akin to Romanism, differing from it only in its refusal to acknowledge the Pope, the variations range. To say that a man is an Episcopalian is by no means to indicate whether he does or does not believe in baptismal regeneration, what is his particular view of the episcopacy, what kind of a sacramentalist he is, or what are the refinements of his idea of God. The Episcopal Church includes manifold temperaments and manifold points of view.

2. *Signs that the Episcopal Church Is Interested in a Larger and More Inclusive Union than Now Exists*

If it may be assumed at the outset that evidence is drawn from theory and practice within the church rather than from any pronouncements of an official character, and if certain tendencies within the English Church may be included as germane, it may be said that church union of a limited kind is already in operation. The war found

the Episcopal Church in this country working with many other communions through the General Wartime Commission. This was clearly indicative of a recognition of practical unity for a common aim. For many years certain types of churchmen have counted on their neighbors of other communions for addresses, particularly in Lent, and occasionally for sermons. The permission of the bishop is required; it is seldom refused. It is the practice in many churches to invite to the sacrament members of any communions. This custom is seldom interfered with. Such examples as these are not uncommon; they bear witness to the desire for a legal warrant for a widespread practice.

More than this, however. Scholarship of recent years has seemed to point to the conclusion that unity may inhere in faith rather than in polity. Research in first century church government has persuaded at least some of the more advanced churchmen that the apostolic fellowship found its life in correct thinking in regard to God and Christ, rather than in holding to an especial form of government, precious though that form might be. There is said to be a strong movement in this direction in England at the present time.[1] If such a tendency gathers headway it will but corroborate the conviction which large numbers of churchmen have always had—that, important though forms of government may be, they are of secondary value. There is great promise, in a movement of this kind, that the church at large may find itself ready to unite with those whose catholicity inheres in their religion. At any rate, it may easily be seen that scholarship is seeking the true basis of catholicism rather than sanctions for particular points of view.

Religion also is coming to the assistance of scholarship.

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[1] This section was written before the Lambeth statement on reunion was issued. That statement, printed as Appendix III to this report, should be read in connection with this discussion of the attitude of the Episcopal Church.

Until quite recently full church membership depended upon confirmation. To be sure, a baptized person was recognized as a member of Christ. But until that person had taken upon himself his baptismal promises and had received the episcopal laying-on-of-hands he was not a church member. This conception is gradually changing. Baptism in the three-fold name may yet be accepted as the basis of universal church membership. If so, problems of an exclusively episcopal character will fall into the background.

3. *Signs that the Episcopal Church Is Actually Taking Steps toward Real Union*

At least forty years ago a movement was set on foot by William R. Huntington toward allowing such non-episcopalian churches as cared to do so to place themselves under the jurisdiction of the local bishop and be considered part of the church over which he was in authority. The attempt came to nothing. The proposed Concordat between Congregationalists and Episcopalians, whereby Congregational ministers shall receive episcopal ordination and at the same time shall retain all the essential features of their own church, is but a second and possibly more advanced chapter of the same bit of history. Both of these movements, as well as participation in the work of the Conference on Faith and Order, are earnest attempts on the part of Episcopalians to secure a working union in which the convictions of those who hold that episcopacy is essential to the being of the Church shall be respected, while the feelings of others who look upon it as a useful institution only shall not be offended. It is interesting to note that the friends and enemies of the plan may not be separated along lines of churchmanship.

It is also interesting to see on what cordial and mutually trustful terms certain leaders of the Episcopal Church are working with others along moral and religious

lines. Reports from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America show how enthusiastically some of the clergy and bishops of the Episcopal Church are not only participating in local interchurch work, but are even taking positions of leadership in such useful enterprises. Reports from the lumber camps of the Northwest and from frontier work elsewhere bear witness to a willingness on the part of many Episcopalians to cooperate on the basis of certain working fundamentals, allowing the exigencies of the situation to take precedence of certain precious methods of religious procedure.

Possibly the most significant movement toward real union is coming from the mission field. Sections of the same communion are uniting as, for example, the Anglican Church and the American Episcopal Church. Beyond this, however, missionary bishops and others are coming to the conclusion that the doctrine of common sense is one of the notes of catholicism, and that it entails Christian fellowship and a working union, whatever the theoretical objections may be. Simply because disunion defeats the purpose of missions and thereby becomes heresy, the orthodoxy of union is made apparent. It looks as if Gordian knots would be cut. Too much time has been conscientiously wasted in trying to untie them.

It lends little to the discussion of the larger problems of union to say that definite progress is being achieved in drawing together all Episcopal Churches, save the Roman. (Overtures are at present being made between the Anglican and the Protestant Episcopal Churches on the one hand and the Greek and Russian Churches on the other. A report favorable to intercommunion was made shortly before the war by a commission representing the Anglican, the Protestant Episcopal, and the Swedish Churches. From time to time the Old Catholics and Anglicans of all branches show signs of fundamental sympathy. All of these, however, being episcopal, are

rendered free of obstacles supposed to be fundamental. While they furnish interesting evidence of the attainment of a greater degree of real union, they do not represent the critical problem. Definite advances have been made to the Roman Catholic Church by the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal Churches. The former insists, however, upon submission to unaltered Romanism as the *sine qua non* of union.

VIII. Other Churches and the Problem of Unity

In this chapter we have thus far considered only seven of the large groups within American Christianity, but in a general way it may be said that the denominations here discussed are fairly representative of most of the other Protestant bodies. To this statement, however, at least three important exceptions need to be noted.

There is in the first place what we might term "the extreme right" of American Protestantism, the stricter group within the Southern Baptist Convention. Since a later section will analyze the implications of the more uncompromising Southern Baptist conception of the Church, we need here only say that their rigid insistence upon the local congregation as the only ecclesiastical authority, upon immersion as the only valid form of baptism, upon a strict interpretation of certain other doctrines, and upon complete freedom from central control of any kind has led them generally to take so undeviating a position of entire independence that they have been unrepresented in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and in most other cooperative endeavors. During the war, however, the Southern Baptist Convention cooperated in the work of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, and such beginnings in a concrete way afford a hope for larger cooperation in the future.

At the extreme "left" of American Protestantism are the Unitarian Churches, again affording a special prob-

lem in connection with church unity. Here the problem is the reverse of that presented by the Southern Baptists, for the Unitarians, it may be safely said, stand ready to cooperate with other churches while some, at least, of the other churches are very hesitant about such cooperation. But here, too, the measure of cooperation already entered upon in specific instances suggests the possibility of a larger future cooperation in matters that do not involve doctrinal considerations. In certain of the local federations of churches Unitarians now participate, and during the war the recommendation of Unitarian chaplains to the War Department was through the agency of the Federal Council's General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains.

Concerning one other Protestant body a word should be said, the Friends. Representing an extreme emphasis upon the supremacy of the individual conscience and dispensing with sacraments and a paid ministry, they have naturally given less attention than other groups to institutional religious life, whether denominational or interdenominational. They are, however, one of the constituent members of the Federal Council. There is, moreover, a growing tendency to closer organization among the Friends, a notable illustration being the American Friends' Service Committee, which has carried on a work that, in proportion to numbers and financial strength, no doubt surpasses that of any other war-time agency.

The Salvation Army is another important group, less easy to classify but requiring consideration. Here is a great Christian movement built up on the principle of that complete consecration which characterizes the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church, yet, unlike them, making provision for family life. Whether it is more correctly to be regarded as a denomination or as an undenominational agency has not been entirely clear. If membership in it is to be accepted as a substitute for membership in one of the regular denominations—which

seems now to be the case—it becomes practically another denomination. If, on the other hand, it were to be regarded like the Y M C A, as a supplementary agency for specialized service, its logical place in the present study is in a later chapter.* In response to an inquiry as to how the Salvation Army regards itself, one of its high officials writes that it "is a Christian denomination very undenominational and extra-denominational in many of its practices."

Most difficult of all, of course, is the question of the relations between the Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. The adoption of the Constitution of the United States, by which religious liberty was guaranteed to all its citizens, saw the Roman Church but scantily represented in the original thirteen states. More than 15,000 of the fewer than 25,000 Catholics then in the Union were to be found in Maryland. While Catholics were still under local political disabilities in several of the states till well into the nineteenth century, the earlier Roman priests were received in some Protestant communities, and even by Protestant ministers, with a good deal of personal friendliness. By 1830, however, immigration was rapidly augmenting the Roman Catholic population. It is supposed to have reached 1,000,000 by 1840. With this growth came religious conflicts, generally intensified by racial antagonism. These feelings were further intensified by the political contests, especially in the large eastern cities, between the foreign (largely Roman Catholic) elements and the Native-American Party from 1841 to 1847, and the Know Nothing Party in the years between 1852 and the Civil War.

Since the Civil War an increasing toleration has succeeded the suspicion and hostility of the preceding decades, and this state of relations has been greatly aided by the tacit abandonment of all considerable proselyting attempts. In general, Roman Catholics and Protestants

*Cf., p. 125 of this report.

have respected each other's constituencies and have made relatively slight attempts to win from the one fold to the other. The result has been a mutual toleration and a growing regard. The chief field of friction in recent years has been regarding public education. Popular feeling, as represented by the majority, has insisted on public schools maintained by general taxation. Roman Catholic conviction has emphasized parochial schools, education in which is usually recognized as meeting the requirements of the State. Paying for these parochial schools themselves, Catholics have regarded the requirement of taxation to support the public schools as a burden, and have desired either relief or the diversion of a portion of the public money to the maintenance of their parochial schools.

Those who hold, as do Roman Catholics, recognition of the spiritual authority of the Pope a prerequisite to reunion, and those who reject that authority, as do Protestants, have no common basis of union which can now be proposed.* That fundamental divergence does not prevent, however, the possibility of an increasing measure of cooperation and mutual recognition. Some evidences of such an attitude are to be seen. Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland took part in the Parliament of Religions at the Chicago Exposition in 1893. In various cities Roman Catholics and Protestants have occasionally labored together officially, as religious bodies, to secure better moral conditions of civic life and to aid in epidemics which threatened public health. In Cincinnati a joint commission representing the Federation of Protestant Churches and the Federated Catholic Societies met with a series of successes in dealing with commercial amusements. In the spring of 1916 Bishop McGolrick joined with the Interchurch Council of Duluth and other

*The recent declination of the Pope to participate in the World Conference on Faith and Order is noted elsewhere in this report. See page 161.

forces to make the city "dry." In Louisville the Roman Catholics cooperated in securing the appointment of a vice commission.[10] In the same city, when the churches were closed during an influenza epidemic, the Roman Catholic bishop joined with the Protestants in an appeal for religious observance in the homes. At Easter time, 1920, in Detroit the Holy Name Society and the Council of Churches united in an appeal to the city administration to request the closing of all business houses for three hours on Good Friday. In the summer of 1920 the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches and the National Catholic Welfare Council joined in giving assistance to an investigation of the Denver tramway strike, at the request of a local commission including both Protestants and Catholics.

During the World War there were numberless instances in which Roman Catholic and Protestant chaplains worked together in a fraternal spirit. Catholic clergy and Protestant ministers joined in public community services of thanksgiving, celebrating the successful conclusion of the struggle.

The most comprehensive attempt at practical cooperation between Catholics and Protestants during the war, if not during American history, was the work of the so-called "Committee of Six." The Committee was the outcome of an informal conference in October, 1917, at which representatives of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, the National Catholic War Council, and the Jewish Welfare Board participated in considering what should be done to safeguard the moral welfare of the soldiers. It was recognized by the Secretary of War "as an Advisory Committee to confer with the Government on matters relating to the religious interests of the Army." It was explicitly

[10]Guild, Roy B., "Practicing Christian Unity," pp. 10, 21, 53. New York, 1919.

stated by the Committee that its functions were "purely unofficial and advisory and that the organizations to which members belong . . . are in no wise committed by the action of the Committee." Several meetings were held between October, 1917, and July, 1918, and important recommendations were made to the War Department concerning the appointment of chaplains, the chaplains' training school, and legislation concerning chaplains. Thirteen meetings were held in all and the relations of the members of the Committee were marked to a notable degree by mutual confidence and good will. The fact that the members of the Committee were not authorized to act in a representative capacity, and the complex situation created by the action of the War Department in terminating the services of the "camp pastors," with the mistaken impression in some quarters that the Committee of Six was partly responsible for the step, were the chief factors standing in the way of its further functioning.

It is no doubt in the increase of such forms of mutual recognition and of practical cooperation within this limited sphere that a closer relation between Protestants and Roman Catholics is to be sought, so far as the immediate future is concerned.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESENT STATUS OF LOCAL COOPERATION

The movement toward church unity is developing rapidly in two fields—in the local community and in the Church as a whole. And each development is indispensable to the other. In the last analysis, however, everything rests upon the local church. It is here, therefore, that we need to begin our discussion.

Local communities differ so widely in character that it is almost impossible to speak in general terms. Two types, more or less distinct, do, however, clearly appear—the small locality, in which a single "community church" is sufficient, and the city, in which a federation of churches now appears to afford the most practicable step toward unity. We shall consider the two types of communities separately.

I. The Movement toward Church Unity in Small Communities

The tendency toward the unifying of the Christian forces in small communities is one of the most characteristic phases of the general movement toward the union of the churches. This tendency has been quickened by the increasing shifting of emphasis, particularly during the last quarter of a century, from narrow sectarianism to a broader and more inclusive theological content. Especially in towns and villages where the population is sufficient to support adequately only a single church has the problem of union been urgent.

This movement toward the unifying of Christian forces in small communities has found expression in several forms, each of which we need to examine in some detail.

1. *Early Efforts to Stop Waste of Resources*

First in historical order has been a recognition of the waste of resources due to the competition of small churches and the maintenance of sectarian groups. The tragic failure of denominational competition in rural communities has been most clearly demonstrated in the state of Ohio, through studies carried on by Rev. C. O. Gill, and published under the joint authorship of Mr. Gill and Hon. Gifford Pinchot, under the title "Six Thousand Country Churches."[1] All over the nation this waste and failure have been noted. It was in the state of Maine, as early as 1890, that the first organization was formed to seek a distinctly cooperative plan, by reciprocal exchange of exclusive responsibility for certain communities, as a substitute for wasteful and destructive competition. After thirty years of testing, the principles then laid down are acknowledged to be still sound and valid as far as they go. In fact, they are even clearer today, for men who have been ministered to in war by Protestant chaplains of many churches, to say nothing of Catholics and Jews, are not prepared to support needless churches duplicating one another's efforts.

2. *The Union Church*

As a remedy for the ills of sectarianism, communities have tried the "union church." When a church bears no denominational name, has no connection with denominational organizations and enterprises, and in creedal position avoids distinctions and tests, or is neutral toward them, or endeavors to be inclusive of all, it is in effect a union church, whatever may be the name it carries.[2]

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[1] Macmillan Co., New York, 1919. The volume can be secured from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22d St., New York.

[2] Many are now using the name "community church," meaning oftentimes in reality the same as "union church," despite the different designation.

Against the union church have arisen out of experience certain serious criticisms which have to be taken into account:

a. Without the usual associational fellowships and friendships, which Christian organizations require, it often lacks occasion for the expression of allegiance, loyalty, and devotion to the larger bodies and movements that include a vision of the whole country or the world. It tends to become impoverished in its religious ideals, because it has no agencies carrying on the great enterprises of home and foreign missions in its behalf.

b. It lacks adequate outside advice and supervision, with expert and technical help and guidance at critical periods, from bishop, superintendent, secretary, or other denominational leader. It is also subject more than other churches are to deception and abuse from unprincipled and unworthy pastors and preachers, because often obliged to secure ministers from the foot-loose variety.

c. The union church promotes no institutions for education, religious or secular, in any large and statesmanlike way. It does not have, therefore, within itself certain of the incentives toward learning which other churches have. Neither for itself, nor for its Sunday school, does it have a literature which is produced by its own associates; and it helps to produce none.

d. Frequently the union church lacks a well-rounded system of truth, due to the fact that in its desire to include all and offend none it does not care to express, and so fails to cultivate, deep religious convictions.

Despite the shortcomings considered above, the union church has grown into the affection and confidence of many people and is satisfactorily serving some communities. In the state of Massachusetts are reported more union churches, frankly so-called, than in any other state. These, about two score in number, hold an annual conference, and, under the guidance of the Massachusetts Federation of Churches, seek to secure the advantages of

joint fellowship. Their success, however, has not been such as to remove entirely the charges of weakness against the union church as at present organized. So long as the churches at large function denominationally, a church which is isolated from this fellowship is under a handicap. Yet it is only fair to say that under certain conditions a union church seems most fully to meet the needs of the community.

3. *The Federated Church*

A third step which has been taken is in the form of an experiment with what is called "the federated church."

To be clear on this point we must distinguish between three uses of the term "federated church." First, there is the proper use, when two or more churches, each preserving its own organization and connection with its own denomination, unite in some or all of their functions under the pastoral care of one man or one staff of men.

Second, there is the looser, less exact use of the term, to describe an organization of individuals who, while retaining membership in earlier churches of their choice, unite in a new church, usually as a temporary expedient, perhaps while in a foreign city, as in the capitals of Europe where many reside for a time, in student communities, in camps, or in cities like Cristobal and Balboa of the Canal Zone. Such churches as these unquestionably meet a genuine need under conditions of temporary residence. In their localities they are equivalent to "union churches" and frequently so-called, yet differ from them in the important respect of being interrelated, rather than unrelated, to denominations. Instead of being called "federated churches," they should, strictly speaking, be called "churches of federated Christians."

In the third place, the term "federated church" has been applied very loosely to almost any kind of a church-combination in which different elements have been co-

solidated, even though the result is in fact an ordinary denominational church. A kind of trade value is thought by some people to inhere in the name. In what follows we are considering only the federated church in the stricter sense of a body within which two or more churches unite under one pastor but preserve their own organizations.

There has been a very strong impulse toward the formation of local federated churches. The overhead movements of the last twenty-five years among the denominations have been in this direction; and the development of that community consciousness which during the war brought all people, even of the most diverse types, together in cooperative movements has helped to emphasize the tendency. There are doubtless several hundred federated churches in the United States, in varying stages of activity and inactivity. In the office of the Home Missions Council is a list of about three hundred. And the federated church has no doubt been a most useful expedient, at least temporarily, for promoting the spirit of unity and expressing practicable union in workable form.

Yet the federated church has been on trial long enough, and fairly enough, to satisfy many of its friends that it is not the final step toward unity in the local community. The considerations urged against the federated church would probably be somewhat as follows:

a. At best it is a kind of makeshift and not a final settlement. It is in a state of unstable equilibrium, because of various fluctuating conditions and influences. The question of the pastorate involves recurring adjustments of denominational connection and influence. Moreover, new members must decide which denominational church they will join, and then the balance of strength is disturbed; or if they elect to join the "federation" itself, an anomalous and unplanned for "union church" is projected into the midst of the several denominational churches, with a resulting confusion and uneasiness.

And if the federated church gets happily by the perplexities of changing pastors and receiving new members, it may come at any moment upon the pitfalls of readjusting denominational benevolences and financial responsibilities, because of varying needs, new campaigns, or bequests, or because meeting houses burn, or must be repaired, or other material and temporal exigencies emerge. Or some outside influence, unreckoned with and unanticipated, may intrude at any moment, by the decision of an ecclesiastical official of one of the denominations.

b. A verdict against the federated church often rests upon the suspicion that behind it is the intention of one of the parties to take advantage of the others, and by strategy bring them all into a single denominational camp, with obvious gain to that one denomination. When a suspicion of ulterior motives lingers in any mind, enthusiasm for the enterprise and fidelity to it vanish.

c. There is also the difficulty—some would call it an impossibility—of keeping up a divided allegiance with impartiality. The federated church requires of many people a continued poise of judgment and protracted practice of equity and fair play, for which not all people are adequately equipped. The one pastor who serves two or more organizations, blended as one congregation, must deal impartially with all. If bias or prejudice or predilection tincture his ministry, the sense of injustice may develop into resentment and revolt. Committees in the administration of their different duties, and influential people as they serve and lead, must likewise evince the spirit of thorough equity, else the federation may ultimately fail. So long as denominational loyalties remain, the utility of the federated church will fluctuate with the varying degrees of judicial-mindedness and good will to be found in different communities. The federated church is not in itself a cure-all for the ills of denominational rivalry. In many communities, however, it is agreed that it is at present serving a useful purpose.

4. *The Denominational Church Functioning for the Whole Community*

The phrase, "the community church," has lately come into prominence. Great community enterprises, unparalleled in the history of our country, occasioned by the war, have prepared men for working together. If they can meet together, plan together, conduct great drives for patriotic service, can they not also worship together? If the people can function in a community Red Cross, and a community enlistment bureau, why not in a community church?

We must look first to definitions.

The term "community church" is not yet definitely and distinctly used. Sometimes it is applied to a federated church; sometimes it means nothing more than a denominational church which has institutional features; at other times it is naught else than the familiar "union church," given a new name; again, church promoters sometimes use the phrase as a trade mark to catch the good will of people who are looking for a church of a broad and liberal type, imbued with social impulses.

We should limit the term to the *functioning* of a church, not to its form of organization, or to its denominational connections or lack of them. That church which seeks to minister to all the religious interests of a community, gathering to its fellowship and its service all the Christians of the community, of whatever name or characteristics, is a community church. How it is organized, or even how it is named, is less important than the question as to how it ministers. A federated church may be a community church, or it may fail to be a community church, even though it be the only church in the community, according as it does or does not serve all the religious interests of the community and include in its fellowship all Christians of the community. On the other hand, a denominational church may be a community

church, if it embraces in the scope of its ministries all the religious interests of the community and includes in its fellowship all the Christians there. It need not necessarily receive all Christians into full and equal membership, but it must receive all into its *fellowship,* in such ways as to be satisfying to the social instincts of all and to call out the feeling of their corporate responsibility.

Here may be the difficulty, yet nevertheless here is the goal—to serve all, of varying talents and varying points of view, even as Jesus Christ would serve them, with a toleration and a patience that are all-inclusive.

Many considerations may be urged in favor of the community church:

a. It seems to have been the New Testament type of church. The churches at Corinth, Thessalonica, Colosse, Laodicea, and Rome appear to have been inclusive of all the Christians in the city, although some of them met in one house and others in another, and some of them were even broken into factions, according as they followed more closely Paul, or Apollos, or Peter. Yet their Christian designation was one and their fellowship was one.

b. Practical experience of the years shows plainly that in the small locality the community church alone can adequately fulfill its mission. Others are wasteful of resources and foster division, thus sacrificing certain essential characteristics. Communities have learned that it is not only easier but also more Christlike to maintain in a small population one church which tolerates within itself every variety of Christian experience and attainment, than it is to maintain and tolerate different churches, each of which exists for a different type. Spiritual agreements can more readily be secured among groups of Christians meeting together than among separated groups.

c. It has been becoming plain to the average man

through a long term of years, and the effects of the war have hastened the process, that the validity of the Church does not consist alone in detailed doctrinal agreement. The war has had an immense effect upon men in making a few simple and far-reaching convictions controlling; and these few fundamentals seem to them common to practically all the churches. Consequently the question of which church, amongst several, does not seem so important as it did to men of former days. The justification for the churches is regarded more as resting upon their social functions than upon any doctrinal differences. The common social functions of the Church which appeal to men generally as justifying its existence, are that it is a place of testimony to the reality of God in Christ, speaking to men of the deepest, the greatest, and the best things of life; that it is a social center for acquaintance and fellowship on the deeper levels of human experience; that, however small it may be, nevertheless it is a great educational institution, in which the proclamation of truth, the interpretation of the meaning of life, and the inculcation of personal duties are constant tasks; that, however meagerly it may be equipped, it is yet a place of worship, where the most profound emotions are stirred in the sense of awe and in expression of adoration and praise; that it is a means of ministry and service to the community—the combination of Christians in united good will and good deeds, in order to Christianize all the community life.

A perplexing problem, however, arises: How can the community church serve its community adequately, and at the same time not itself become limited to its community? Can it be locally efficient without at the same time becoming provincial? The mind of Christ cannot be in men, unless they think and love with something of His universal inclusiveness. Can a church be both local and catholic?

The answer to this question must be sought in two

directions—in the spirit of the local church and in its relation to outside organizations.

a. As regards its own spirit, the church that is to minister to the whole community must evince breadth of fellowship by allowing the right of private judgment, not insisting upon absolute conformity to a single standard. It will freely entertain varieties within its fellowship, not seeking to reduce differences to the level of flat uniformity but including variations within the richer unity of a higher synthesis. The plan of the so-called "Concordat" between Congregationalists and Episcopalians, in accordance with which a Congregational minister may receive a second ordination at the hands of an Episcopal bishop, in order to render his administration of the sacraments acceptable to Episcopalians, is a striving toward such a higher synthesis. If the principles of the church seem to preclude full membership for all the variant kinds of Christian conviction and experience within the community, then it will make some adequate provision for satisfactory affiliation, which will permit it to be what a church should be to every Christian of the community in the social functions enumerated above. In the plan of cooperation which was put into effect in the state of Montana in 1919, it was fully recognized that those Christians who ordinarily gave social allegiance to a church serving alone a community for the sake of administrative efficiency, should have the care and compensation of occasional ministries by clergymen of their own choice. This is the meaning of the principle enunciated in the following terms: "Occasional ministry by any cooperating denomination to small groups of adherents of that communion is not to be regarded as infringement on the one hand nor as occupancy of fields on the other."

b. As far as its relations to outside organizations are concerned, four attitudes may conceivably be taken by the local church.

(1) It may take the attitude of self-sufficient isolation,

disclaiming all responsibility for any person or any thing outside its own community. But in this case, while it may continue to perform the local functions of a church, it will lose the missionary and generative spirit of Christianity and will soon cease to be Christian in the fullest sense of the word. A church which lacks a world vision and missionary zeal, thinks only of itself, and ministers only to the interests of its own immediate environment, cannot remain Christian any more than a man can be truly a Christian if he limits all his interests to himself and his family.

(2) It may respond to appeals of a spontaneous and sporadic character—may pray for and give to such occasional needs as those brought to public attention by reason of floods, earthquakes, fires, pestilence, famine, and other great calamities; or may support societies which do good solely on the humanitarian plane or push some partial propaganda. In much of the generosity thus elicited there is no little real Christian benevolence; but it is not of the steadiest and strongest kind, nor does it possess the vision and balance of those great missionary societies which have grown up under denominational oversight through the refining experiences of the failures and successes of many generations.

(3) It may endeavor, like a federated church, to yield allegiance to several missionary societies, and groups of societies—a society or a group for each of the denominations represented in the federation. Its success may be well proportioned and satisfactory, but the difficulties and dangers as the years pass are not few. Special appeals and "drives" by one denomination or another may disturb the balance and produce disquietude. Changes of pastors and of committees may alter the emphasis and destroy an equitable adjustment, or if the fixing of the ratios comes up periodically recurring disputes may impend.

(4) The most secure and satisfactory way, so long as

our missionary work is organized denominationally, is for a community church to be connected with a single denomination.

But is this possible? Can a community church be a part of a denomination and as such (a) serve well its own community, meeting the needs of all of the Christians there, and (b) at the same time through the channels of a single denomination extend its interests, its devotion, its prayers, and its benevolences unto all the religious needs of the world?

The answer is, yes—assuredly yes, if the denominational authorities are favorably disposed to cooperation. There are scores, hundreds, probably thousands of churches meeting all of these conditions more or less completely, both within the community and in relation to the world's needs; and the prevailing type is the denominational church which has become community-minded. Men care less than formerly for the denominational name of the church in which they worship, and more for the character of its community service and the outreach and vision of the denominational organizations.[8]

5. *The Present Responsibility for Developing Community Churches*

The present tendency toward unity in local communities, therefore, seems toward that kind of unity which embraces Christians of diverse types within the fellowship of a single church, directly related to one of the denominations, but broad enough in sympathy and in ministry to meet the needs of the entire community. This situation lays a special responsibility upon three

[8] As typical of community churches with denominational connection might be mentioned the strong "Washington Park Community Church," in a new residential section of Denver. Its membership of five hundred represents eleven denominations. While serving the whole community without denominational designation or distinction, it has contacts with the Church as a whole through connection with the Methodist Episcopal Conference.

groups: (a) members of local churches, (b) administrative officers next above those in the local church, and (c) denominational leaders.

a. The time has come for all churches, particularly those which stand alone in their communities, to enlarge the terms of fellowship, if not the terms of membership, by dropping any exclusive and sectarian tests which would shut worthy Christians out of their companionship in work and worship. A church which will not include in its fellowship all worthy Christians is challenged when it claims the right to occupy exclusively a single field. It should include all, else it should give way to a church which will. There is a growing sentiment against more than one church in a community of the one-church size, and there is a tendency to agree that a population of one thousand should have but one church. And when one Christian church stands alone in a locality the necessity upon it of serving every Christian interest of the place seems apparent. No one should require the violation of conscience by any church which has distinctive requirements for admission to church membership, but such churches can at least make their *fellowship* broad enough and inclusive enough to receive all who should be received. Many such churches are doing this already.

b. A very large number of churches have the impulse and the purpose to serve their communities adequately but are hindered, if not entirely prevented, by the administrative officers above them, the men who care for the interests of the ecclesiastical organization next above the local church—the district, the conference, the association, the convention, the synod, the presbytery, the classis, or the diocese. These men have other matters in mind; they are thinking of associational and denominational strength, of statistical returns, and the recompense of faithful administration. Consequently they are often less ready to recognize community conditions and needs than are pastors and resident church

members. They, more than any other class of responsible administrators of church affairs, prevent the needed extension of Christian comity, for they insist upon the rigors of denominational ties for the sake of holding to denominational possessions, not recognizing that the compensations of enlarged fellowship will be greater than its losses.

To meet this situation the so-called plan of "reciprocal exchange" has been employed, which helps to make the fact of immediate compensation apparent. By this plan when one denomination gives up its members and work in one community to another denomination, another community is sought in which conditions are reversed, so that the denomination which before yielded may now gain and the denomination which in the former case gained may now make the concession. This plan, first proposed and put into operation in Maine, has been approved by many bodies, including the Home Missions Council and the Commission on Councils of Churches of the Federal Council, and has been put into operation in several states. It is the very nerve center of the plans which have been carried out so successfully in Vermont. The resulting sense of fair play and equity takes away a large share of the stings of concession and surrender.

c. Out of the experiences of the Church in moving toward unity in local communities comes a message for the leaders of the denominations at large. For no little movement toward unity, even in a remote or apparently insignificant place, fails to affect the strength and vitality of the very head center of the denomination itself. And from all these local movements, of which there is an increasing host, comes a warning that the denominations themselves as a whole must give heed to greater cooperation among themselves.

The little church, and the sum total of little churches, are essential to denominational efficiency, and whatever the little church does should be in accord with the larger

plans of the denomination. But when the small church finds it needful, for the sake of fulfilling its true Christian mission in its own community, to carry out policies which are not exclusively sectarian or denominational, then the denomination itself, to preserve its own integrity and efficiency, must consider plans tending toward greater unity.

These movements of the little churches toward unity require the leaders in the churches at large to think and plan in their behalf. Community churches must not be stopped. Indeed, they cannot be stopped; but they should now be anticipated and planned for, with wisdom which discerns all needs and takes all factors into account. Denominations now existing must therefore plan to "mother" these community churches in a broad and charitable spirit, else they may be sure that a new organization will arise which will give them a fostering care and which would probably be equivalent to the creation of a new denomination of interdenominationalism.

The lesser parts are coming together. The time has come for the heads to come together.

II. The Federation of Churches in Cities and States

The increasing cooperation of churches in efforts to Christianize the community in which they are located is one of the most conspicuous expressions of the spirit of unity. Such cooperation means the harmonizing of purposes, the coordinating of plans, the synchronizing of efforts, in order to render a common service more effectively. It is the unity in deeds that is immediately possible and universally needed.

The name commonly given to the organization by which this cooperation has been made possible is the federation of churches. A more correct name is the council of churches. For a time there were nearly as many different names as there were organizations. This was strik-

ingly illustrated at the recent convention on the Church and the Community.[4] Delegates from the Christian Council of Churches in Atlanta, from the Churchmen's Federation in Louisville, from the Interchurch Federation in Sacramento, from the Norfolk Federation of Churches, from the Pittsburgh Council of Churches, were the guests of the Federated Churches of Cleveland. At this gathering the name "council of churches" met with greatest favor. But as the genius of the federation movement is local autonomy, no group rules for others on this or any other matter. The churches of the community—city, county, or state—which create the organization are the sole authority in determining form, personnel, program, and name.

1. *The Development of Local Cooperation*

The World War at first retarded and later accelerated the organization of councils of churches in the cities and the states. During the war all recognized the need of the cooperation of the churches, a need which was made painfully evident by the cooperation of all other community groups. Yet we were so intent upon winning the war, and the many demands for money were so insistent, that we did not give the time, the thought, the energy, and the money necessary for effective church fellowship. Those who then tried to mobilize the churches as churches to meet their opportunities unitedly found it almost impossible to do so. In a period when it would seem that the growth should have been most rapid it was slow. Only a few councils or federations were formed, financed, and manned, several of these being in cities near training camps and industrial plants engaged in war work.

At the close of the war there was a most noticeable change in the progress of the federation movement. In

[4]Held in Cleveland, O., June, 1920, under the auspices of the Federal Council's Commission on Interchurch Federations.

the year 1919 the growth was more rapid and more substantial than in all the preceding four years or in any four years prior to the war. City after city swung into line. The Commission on Interchurch Federations assisted in raising nearly $250,000 for budgets, the policy having been adopted for large cities of not organizing a council of churches until sufficient funds were assured to meet expenses for two years. As a result of this steady development more than forty cities now employ executive secretaries, and a dozen more will probably do so within a few months.

It is no longer a question of whether the churches will form a council—it is only a question of when. Every community that does not have it is in need of it; nearly every community is ready for it. All that is lacking is a nucleus about which opinion and desire and action may crystallize, and crystallization in permanent organization follows inevitably where there is strong local initiative. The community consciousness that grew strong in the days of the war is reacting on the minds and hearts of all true churchmen. The result is a decided increase in the number of councils which are functioning in many lines of effective service. To appreciate the importance of this, one should be familiar with the history of the movement, the fundamental principles that underlie it, and the programs that are being carried out.

The steady growth in the cooperation of local churches has been in accordance with a simple principle: any community having two or more churches can not adequately provide for its religious needs, unless there is some committee, council, federation, or other organization through which the churches can function together.

The development of plans in accordance with this principle has been gradual. It has not been due to any particular person or organization. In the beginning it was spontaneous. A few individuals, members of various churches, undertook to meet some community need which

challenged those who professed a desire to see the Kingdom of God established on the earth. Out of these united efforts came such institutions as the International Sunday School Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and many other kindred organizations.[5] Their inception and growth were due to the desire of Christians to do certain things which were not being done, and which could not be done by individuals or by groups of individuals acting separately. The organization of ministerial unions and associations was due to this same desire. In addition to discussing subjects of mutual interest to clergymen they often grappled with community conditions demanding the attention of the churches. Aside from having union meetings and union evangelistic campaigns, the bond of interest was most often the fight against the saloon and its attendant evils.

The next natural step was for the churches as churches to undertake to attend to these matters. Committees were formed whose members were appointed by the churches. The life of such committees was generally brief. The churches gained an unenviable reputation for having spasms of evangelistic and reforming fervor. The important fact is that in putting forth these efforts the churches learned the value of cooperation and learned how to cooperate. Church members were coming to realize that they must have a part in making plans and carrying them out as church members, instead of being compelled to find an outlet for interest and energies in other enterprises for which the churches as churches were not responsible.

With the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America the application of the principle of cooperation of churches became more general. A commission called the Commission on State and

[5] See Chapter VIII of this report.

Local Federations was appointed, which, by means of personal visits, correspondence, and literature, created much enthusiasm for federations. Scores of them were formed in states and cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But the majority of these soon disappeared. They depended on good will and volunteer leadership. The good will remained but the leadership disappeared. The officers were usually clergymen who, in the course of the natural events in a clergyman's life, moved to other cities. This commission was eventually merged with the new Commission on Federated Movements, appointed by the Federal Council in 1915, and was called the Commission on Interchurch Federations (State and Local). It is now called the Commission on Councils of Churches (State and Local). The officers of this commission made a careful study of the situation. This study revealed the fact that in large communities the success of the work depended very much upon having an employed leadership. In cities where a secretary had been in charge of a central office, the cooperation of the churches had become permanent and increasingly effective. These cities, and, in like manner, the states that had adopted this policy, were the laboratories in which the principles and methods which give greatest promise of success were thoroughly worked out. Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Atlanta, Louisville, Sacramento, Pittsburgh, and other cities had passed through various experiences. Other cities had met with good success though depending on volunteer service, such as Hartford, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee. Too much credit cannot be given to the men who in all these cities and in the states of California and Massachusetts were the pioneers in this movement.

The principles which they found to be fundamental and the plans and methods which they proved to be workable constitute the solid foundation on which this practice of Christian unity rests today. In this field we have passed from the days of experiment to the days of continuous

achievement. To state some of the guiding principles is to define and to describe this movement.

2. *Principles Underlying Local Cooperation*

In 1917 a Conference on the Principles and Methods of Interchurch Work was held in Pittsburgh, in preparation for which eight commissions, composed of the men who had had the most experience in cooperative church work, spent the greater part of a year studying what had been done. Their reports, covering the various types of work undertaken in different cities, were discussed by nearly five hundred delegates representing more than one hundred communities and twenty communions.* The principles enunciated at that time are more generally accepted and more firmly adhered to today than ever before. The most serious delay to the movement at the present time is caused by the misunderstanding of them. It may be well, therefore, to take time to emphasize them here.

a. The first principle, which is basic, is a definition. "By a council or federation of churches is meant the churches themselves as churches, consulting and cooperating officially, through accredited delegates, for all accepted common tasks." No association of individuals, or of organizations of individuals, or of separate departments in the churches, or of representative church members not accredited, constitutes a council or federation of churches. The churches differ, of course, in the methods by which delegates are accredited to such a council, according to the practices or rules of each denomination.

b. The churches, independent and differing in policy, ritual, and creeds, cannot recognize in the organization, or in the combined membership of a council, any superior

*The substance of these reports is published in "A Manual of Interchurch Work," which can be secured from the Commission on Councils of Churches, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

ecclesiastical authority. Membership involves only the maximum cooperation which the principles, policy, and polity of each communion permit. The only force possible in such a council, and the only force necessary to secure practical results, is "that force which comes from frequent discussion and consequent united opinion." The council has no authority to assess the participating churches. The acceptance of financial responsibilities rests with the church that joins.

c. A council of churches is not another outside organization, but a clearing house of the churches where they consult together and then work in cooperation on common tasks. One of the most common descriptions of a federation is that it is to the religious life of the community what the chamber of commerce is to the business life of a community.

d. Specific tasks may furnish the occasion for the organization of a council of churches, but they do not constitute its limits, end, or significance. That significance lies in the fact that a council of churches reveals and makes effectual the unity of the churches as the great Church of Christ, so far as such unity is possible under our present denominational organization.

e. A council or federation of churches is an autonomous body. It has no external official relationships with other councils, local, state, or national. The churches in the community determine the character of the organization and the program of work, provide for all funds, and direct the expenditure of the same. All fellowship with other councils is voluntary. It is strictly a home rule proposition, yet through fraternal relations it has the benefit of the experiences and even the services of kindred organizations.

It has required ten years or more to discover these principles which are now most generally accepted. They are applicable to the community which has only two churches or to the large city, to the county or the state.

The failures that have come in the past have generally taken place because one or more of these principles have been ignored.

In June, 1920, another conference on principles and methods, known as the Church and Community Convention, was held in Cleveland.[1] The outstanding impression made by this gathering, coming when the disappointment over the Interchurch World Movement was so keen, was expressed in the words of one of the addresses: "We have, first of all, such evidence as the Christian Church has never had in any previous generation that the movement of cooperation is absolutely undefeatable." In the face of that disappointment there were gathered the men and women, lay, clerical, and secretarial, who during the World War and the chaotic days following had seen the program of local cooperation carried to successful issues in an enlarging field. As a factor in steadying the judgment and in allaying the fears of those whose faith was being shaken, the value of this convention cannot be overstated. Yet it was just a quiet, earnest study of what had been taking place during the last years of the war and the first year of peace, and of the plans by which greater progress could be made. As the convention in 1917 had placed special emphasis upon principles, this one presented the programs which had been ~~most fully~~ tested and approved. It answered, more satisfactorily than it has ever been answered before, the question: What can the churches do together to Christianize the communities in which they are situated?

[1] The Convention was held under the joint auspices of the Commission on Councils of Churches and the Association of Church Federation Executive Secretaries. These secretaries, thus organized, have an annual conference which is performing an important part in the securing and training of executive secretaries.

The reports made by the nine commissions to the convention are published under the title, "Community Programs for Cooperating Churches," as a textbook or manual presented to the churches. It can be secured from The Commission on Councils of Churches, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

3. *What Is Achieved by Cooperation*

The acid test of an institution is, what does it accomplish? It is not always possible to see the results; sometimes they can be felt but not seen. The results of church cooperation through permanent interchurch organizations are discernible both by the sense of feeling and the sense of sight. In city after city the testimony is that the council of churches creates an atmosphere in which those who refer to the whole community, especially those whose ways are ways of darkness, speak more frequently of the Church and less frequently of the churches. Those who attended the convention in Cleveland who came from communities where each congregation was going its own separate way felt a something that was more vital to the life of the community than what they saw. Church cooperation grows because there is the spirit of Christian unity, and Christian unity waxes strong because the churches cooperate.

But there is plenty to see. In this chapter it is not possible to do more than give an outline of the various programs of cooperating churches by reporting a single instance which must suffice to illustrate the whole.

Before the Baltimore Federation of Churches was formed a group of interested laymen and clergymen believed much could be done by the churches for the good of Baltimore which was not being done, but they wished a definite statement based on actual programs tested in other cities. The failure of an early effort to do federated work had made them dubious of future success. War-time responsibilities, however, had brought them together and they were willing to go on together, provided worth-while tasks could be performed. The one question had to be answered, "What can the churches do together?" Or, as one layman put it, "How can an executive secretary earn his salary?" The mental attitude of Baltimore is the usual attitude of other cities at that

stage in the development. The concise statement of a suggested program for that city has served in a dozen other cities and will probably serve in a hundred more, as it is an epitome of successful undertakings for nearly a decade in a gradually increasing number of communities. It declares that the federation exists to fulfil the following functions:

a. To make a continuous religious survey, to furnish reliable information and a basis for intelligent action.

b. To prevent unnecessary overlapping and competition between the denominations, and to see that all communities are adequately churched.

c. To endeavor to arrest the attention of the city with the claims of Christ through a strategic program of evangelism in all the churches individually, and unitedly where possible, depending almost entirely on local leaders.

d. To study the great outstanding industrial and social needs of the city, and to apply Christianity in an effort at solution.

e. To effect a policy of recreation which will afford to all the people as much as or more than the saloon has given, and to make all the recreations wholesome and uplifting.

f. To present a program of Christian education that will meet the needs of the city.

g. To interpret Christian democracy, especially to the alien, non-English speaking groups in the city.

h. To give proper publicity to Christianity, to the churches, and the religious interests of the city.

i. To make religion effective and attractive in the city, and to apply to the work of the churches the best modern business principles of efficiency and economy.

The churches have generally been brought together because of the desire to rectify some civic or social condition that was a detriment to the community, or to make more effective the evangelistic work of the churches. The

single effort to deal with one or the other of these problems very quickly leads out into other avenues of service.* Sometimes two or more groups have been organized to do different types of work. The multiplying of the groups results in confusion. Some councils and federations resulted from the bringing of these groups into one organization. This was noticeably the case in Pittsburgh. Two very strong bodies developed from committees composed of clergymen and laymen appointed by the Union Ministerial Association. The Council of the Churches of Christ in Pittsburgh was organized to relate these lines of work more closely, to give them more substantial backing, and to have an organization which could deal with other problems which were of common concern to all the churches. A prominent clergyman moved from Indianapolis where the Council had been operating for five years to Portland, Oregon. He explained his determination to have a council in Portland by saying, "Every time we wish to do anything together we have to discuss it at length in the ministers' meeting, then we appoint the committee, work out our plans, do the work, throw away the machinery we have constructed, and start all over the next time. In Indianapolis we had an organization that included all the elements in the churches, not just the ministers. We had responsible committees to attend to different matters. Now I have to give so much time to all sorts of committees that as a matter of self-protection to preachers and churches we must federate."

The fact that bad social conditions were often the factor that aroused the churches to a sense of their need of united action led many to regard the federation movement as a social reform movement. The dominant feature of the movement today, however, is the evangelistic.

*One of the outstanding activities of the Chicago Federation, not specifically included in the tasks suggested above, is the maintenance of ministries of preaching, teaching, and comfort, at such public institutions as prisons, hospitals, courts, and asylums.

One of the greatest services rendered by the federation movement has been the development of the city-wide, simultaneous, pastoral evangelistic campaign. This is coming to be the universally accepted method, having been tested year after year in a number of cities.

The plan and record of the work in Indianapolis for the past six years along the line of "community evangelism" is illustrative of what can be done. This plan comprehends a well organized campaign, beginning September 1st of each year and continuing until Easter Sunday. No evangelists are required. A strong evangelistic committee of ministers and laymen, including representatives from the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Young People's Federation, City Sunday School Association, and Adult Bible Class Movement, is appointed each May. This committee prepares an outlined plan of cooperative evangelistic work covering the entire period, each month's program containing some outstanding point of emphasis. This outline of evangelism is then submitted to the Ministers' Association, where it is worked over and finally approved, each pastor agreeing to make it the working program of his church for the period designated. At certain stated times throughout the year all the churches of the city are open each night for intensive evangelistic effort for two weeks or longer under the leadership of the pastors. At the same time the Federation conducts great noon downtown theater meetings, where the attendance ranges from 800 to 2,000 daily. This noon meeting is thoroughly interdenominational and intensely evangelistic. Usually some outstanding pastor is brought to the city to speak at these noon meetings and also at the evening meetings in one or more of the churches. This central meeting is the "hub" of the entire campaign. The reports from the churches, gathered immediately following Easter and covering a year, show additions to membership during the first year to be 3,500;

the second, 7,000; the third, 8,000; the fourth, 8,000; the fifth, 7,500. The present year promises the same results.

The fact that all the churches are moving together simultaneously on a great program of evangelism in which the responsibility rests altogether upon the pastors and the laymen makes a deep impression upon the entire city. By this means also the churches are becoming trained to work together, under central leadership, in religious education and in campaigns for civic and social righteousness.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE CHURCH AS A WHOLE

In the movement toward church unity four separate lines of development have emerged. There is, first, the group of movements aiming at unified action through ignoring denominational lines. In the second place, there are the movements seeking to secure a greater unity of administration among official agencies of the denominations. We have, third, the movement for a federation of the denominations; and, finally, the movement for an organic union of the churches in one body. In each case we shall try, as fairly and impartially as possible, to interpret the significance of the movement and to appraise its value for the future.

I. The Undenominational Movement

The attempt to hasten the unification of Christianity by ignoring the questions at issue between the churches is a possibility which has appealed to earnest spirits to whom the slower and less dramatic methods of the patient education of the denominations seemed to involve an intolerable delay. Instead of starting from the existing church organizations they have thought it possible to start from a new center, untrammeled by the traditions and associations of the past. Such a center might be provided by the existing Christian Associations of men and women, or by some new organization of similar nature modeled on their principles and making use of their experience.

Those who are attracted by this idea recall the great success attained by the Young Men's and Young Women's

Christian Associations during the war, and the generous support which they received from all sorts and conditions of people. This support was due to two factors which are not present in equal degree in any of the other movements toward union which we are to consider: first, their catholicity and, second, their simplicity. The Associations used in their work all kinds of men and women, and they were able to do this because their platforms ignored the differences which separate the churches and proposed as the basis of union a program of common service. Why should not we do in peace what we so successfully did in war? Why should we not deliberately put behind us the divisive issues which now keep the churches apart, and propose a union of all Christians on the basis of common service?

There is much that is attractive in this proposal, and no plan of Christian union which covers the whole ground can overlook the need of organization modeled after the plan and doing the work of the present Christian Associations. But as a comprehensive solution of the problem of Christian unity, the plan has fundamental defects which no one perceives more clearly than the present leaders of the Associations.

We have referred to the experience of the Associations during the war as indicating a possible path toward Christian union. But the experience points rather in the other direction. The Associations could do what they did as they did because the churches were there to do the things they could not do. There was a time during the early days of the war when it was seriously proposed to banish the churches from the army and to commit all the religious work to the Young Men's Christian Association. But apart from the fact that the Christian Association could assume this responsibility only by calling upon the ordained ministry of the churches to enter its service and function in its name, experience proved that there were phases of religious need (and these not the least

important) which could not be met in this way. For good or for evil, the church consciousness—that is, loyalty to the historic institutions of the Christian religion—has too large a place in the experience of most earnestly religious people to give promise of success to any plan which does not fully recognize it.

What qualifies the Associations to succeed in the sphere they have undertaken is, we repeat, precisely the limitations which will make impossible success in the other. They have deliberately chosen a definite field—the one, work for young men; the other, work for young women—and they have organized accordingly. They are organizations of lay men and lay women, professing allegiance to the Church and supplementing its activities in a field where flexibility and initiative are essential. And if it be said that a new organization could be formed, more comprehensive in scope, more responsible in constitution, the same difficulties would reappear on a larger scale. In the measure that the new organization included the elements which now make up the organized Christian churches, it would meet in the new membership the difficulties which now keep them apart. In the measure that it excluded these elements it would be but a partial makeshift, leaving the larger problems with which we are concerned still unsolved. Our question, therefore, is not whether the Associations can in themselves achieve the kind of union that we seek, but how they should be related to the churches so as to serve them most fruitfully.

Something of the same problem that arises in connection with the Christian Associations meets us also in the case of the Salvation Army. For certain lines of work it undoubtedly has remarkable qualifications. The question of its relation to the Church is, therefore, an important one. We have already considered the question as to whether it is more correctly to be regarded as a denomination or as an undenominational agency.[1] If

[1] Cf. p. 91 of this volume.

it were to be the latter, we should need to consider here how it ought to be related to the organized churches. Since the tendency seems to be for it to become practically a denomination we shall do no more here than raise the question and suggest that any solution that may be found of the problem of the right relations between the churches and the Christian Associations might have some application to the Salvation Army also.

1. *The Young Men's Christian Association*

The Young Men's Christian Association arose out of a desire of Christian laymen to win to Jesus Christ young men outside of the influence of the Church. In order to fulfil its religious purpose more effectively its scope of work was gradually extended until it included social, educational, and physical activities. It has always insisted that it is in no sense a substitute for the Church or independent of it, but its servant. It has maintained the rule that its active members shall consist entirely of members of evangelical churches. The declaration at the convention held in Cincinnati in 1913 summarizes the Association's ideal of its relation to the Church:

"The most important agency for the promotion of religious life is the Church. No other institution should be permitted to supplant it or to ignore its primacy. The Association reaffirms its historic policy of absolute loyalty to the Church, and reasserts its intention to recognize in all its activities the preeminence of the Church, the extension of whose influence is the primary purpose of the Association."

The Association movement has been, in form of organization, undenominational. It has had no official or defined relationships to any denomination nor any ecclesiastical character whatsoever. It has, indeed, represented a certain type of doctrinal teaching, of mode of worship, and of religious experience, but in its character and government it has been undenominational. In its

membership and its influence, however, it has been in effect practically interdenominational. Its active members and especially its leaders have been church members and often lay officials of the churches. They have retained their denominational responsibility in connection with their work in the Association. Many of them have been made by their Association activity more intelligent and zealous members of their own denominations, while their contacts in the Association have widened their church acquaintance and fellowship. The work of the Association for the last fifty years has been a great school of interdenominational comradeship among both laymen and clergy. No small part of the strong cooperative spirit of today is due to this influence.

The relation of the Association to the churches has been a problem from the beginning and many discussions and reports upon it are to be found in the records of the forty International Y M C A Conventions. The problem is more pressing and more perplexing today than it has ever been. As we saw in a previous section of this report, it came into sharp prominence during the war. The expansion of the Association work, the strong growth of the cooperative spirit among the denominations themselves, and the development of institutional churches and social service of many types in the denominations and local congregations are some of the factors which make the problem of urgent present importance. How should the Association be related now to the new denominational and interdenominational consciousness and activities? The Report of the Commission on the Relation of the Young Men's Christian Association to the Churches made to the Fortieth International Convention at Detroit in 1919, dealt with this question. It will be well to quote a few paragraphs from its extended treatment:

"We must recognize at the outset that there has been hitherto no organic connection between the organized denominations and the supervisory boards or committees

of the Association, yet the Association has always strenuously claimed that it springs from the heart and life of the evangelical denominations. As springing from, nourished by, and working for these evangelical denominations, the Association has always claimed that it is not outside of but within the Church. As the authoritative historian of the movement, Mr. Richard C. Morse, has put it, 'By intimate connection with these churches the Association became an interdenominational organization and happily avoided being classified with undenominational societies outside of vital union with the churches. *It was outside only of the divisions separating these churches.* It was loyally within their membership and fellowship.'

"It is an obvious fact that there has never been any official definition of the attitude of the denominations towards the Association. So far as known, none of them through its highest court or assembly has attempted to set itself in any positive attitude toward this movement. Of some of the denominations it may be said that practically all of their leaders have manifested constant sympathy with the work of the Association in general, even though they have felt compelled to make criticism of some of its operations in detail.

"On the other hand, there are certain denominations whose leaders have always assumed an attitude, not of active hostility, but of aloofness, which has been expressive of their unwillingness to injure a good work but of their doubt or conviction that it was a movement wrongly related to the organized 'Church.' This attitude is traceable to several convictions. In the first place, the existence of the Association seems to contravene the theory that no organized work should be carried on in the name of Christian propaganda which does not derive its authority directly from at least one denomination.

"In the second place, this objection based on a theory of church government passes over into an objection based upon the fact that the Association inevitably becomes a teacher of Christianity, and especially during the last decade has deliberately set itself forth as an expounder of Christian truth. This it does through its Bible classes, its selection of speakers at conferences and discussion of the fundamentals of Christianity, and now especially

through the growing power of its publishing house, Association Press. These operations, it is said, are carried on for the most part by laymen attached to a self-accredited organization, who have rarely had special training in the fields in which they are concerned either as themselves authors and teachers or as selectors and judges of other speakers and teachers.

"In the third place, certain denominations which cherish very deeply liturgical forms of worship view with dislike the fact that the Association is manned most largely by men from denominations which have no liturgies, and that therefore the religious meetings which it conducts are spreading habits of communal worship alien to those cherished by the denominations referred to."

Other criticisms may be added to these: the objection that the Association draws both men and funds away from the direct work of the denominations; that it sometimes represents its activity at home and abroad as superior to that of the denominations; that, as in the war, it sometimes bears a double character as both dependent upon and independent of the churches. The Report of the Commission to the Detroit Convention did not attempt to answer or to qualify these criticisms. It was seeking a constructive solution for the problem and it stated its views as follows:

"Measures must be taken for establishing channels of constant consultation between the denominations and the Association. Its policies and its larger plans ought not to be defined or undertaken without consultation with those who are not primarily connected with the Association but who do in some official manner carry the authority of the denominations. What shape these consultations should take, what provisions should be made for their consistency, authority, and effectiveness, has not been clearly defined by anyone. While some will not be contented without a direct representation of the denominations on the governing board of the Association in its national and local forms, the majority of those who have been consulted among the church leaders, many of them clergymen of the highest standing, desire to see the As-

sociation maintained as a layman's movement, possessing freedom of initiative and the peculiar qualities which have characterized its best work and its highest influence in the past. They deprecate anything like ecclesiastical control of the Association and disavow the desire that it shall be dominated by clerical influences. They believe that some way must be worked out for establishing cooperation that shall avoid the positive dangers suggested by the words 'ecclesiastical control.'

"It should be pointed out as a fact of the utmost significance that when the Association has worked in the most perfect harmony with the will and mind and spirit of the churches it has been in those cases where it has been able to consult with and to form something like vital relations with interdenominational institutions . . . . *In fact, it is where the churches are themselves united that effective vital union with the Association immediately becomes possible.* The suggestions of this most significant fact are illimitable. . . . Suffice it to illustrate the urgency of the problem by citing steps which are being taken in Great Britain and Canada for its solution. In England there is to be an Association headquarters, a regularly constituted advisory committee nominated in conference with the respective authorities representing the Christian denominations 'to advise with the leaders of the Association from time to time on important matters of high policy and to form a Committee of Reference, to which difficulties (national or local) that may arise between the churches and the Y M C A in actual work may be referred.' The plans adopted by the War Emergency Committee of the British Association further include: 'To ask the churches to receive deputations from the Y M C A when plans may be tabled and cooperation invited.' The English National Council has endorsed these plans. The Scottish National Council has gone further and adopted the following resolutions:

> " '*Resolved* (First) To affirm its devoted loyalty to the Church, and its determination to seek in all its enterprises to serve the Church, and (Second) Humbly to crave the Venerable the General Assembly to receive a Deputation to convey to the Assembly its gratitude, and respect, and the assurance of its loyalty, and to request the Assembly to appoint a Committee to confer with the Association

with a view to discovering means whereby the influence of the Church may be directly exerted in its counsels, and whereby the Association may have a recognized place in the life of the Church.'

"A joint Committee of the churches and the Association carried the matter further in these resolutions unanimously passed and then adopted by the National Union of the Association and later unanimously accepted by the assemblies of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church:

'(a) It is agreed that, inasmuch as it is the desire of the Y M C A that the influence of the Church should be directly exerted in its counsels, it is desirable that the various branches of the Church should appoint representatives to the National Council of the Y M C A, to act as members of the Council, during the period and in view of reconstruction, and in any case for a period not exceeding three years; in the confident hope that a permanent representation of the Church on the various Councils of the Y M C A may thereby be secured. (b) It is agreed, in order to meet the crave of the Y M C A in its original motion that it should have a recognized place in the life of the Church, that the various branches of the Church should invite representatives of the Y M C A to report on their work under the auspices of a Standing Committee or otherwise as may be found most convenient in the meetings of the Assemblies, Representative Council, or other Supreme Courts of the Church; it being understood that the full place which the Y M C A will have in the life of the Church cannot be determined until its relation to the Church Guilds and kindred organizations has been satisfactorily adjusted.'

"In Canada a joint Committee on the Relationship of the Association and the Churches is now in process of formation, having been initiated by the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations in February, 1919. This Committee is to be representative of the five leading Protestant churches and of the Association. Up to date action has been taken by four of these churches and also by the Association, and when the convention of the last of the churches meets it is expected that the Joint Committee will be complete."

The Commission concluded its discussion of the need for a more definite relation between the Association and the churches in America with this question:

"Ought we now to consider the wisdom of asking the different denominations to join with the Association in forming an advisory council like the council established in London? Or instead of this would it be wise to ask the larger denominations at least to nominate members, in number to be agreed upon, upon the International Committee, having due regard to the clear desirability of maintaining fully the voluntary lay administration of the movement, upon which the churches would be the first to insist?"

The Convention approved the report of the Commission and voted that the future developments of the Y M C A "shall be worked out locally and nationally in positive harmony and cooperation with the evangelical churches; that in the selection and training of secretaries the Association shall henceforth give due place to their thorough instruction in the religious aims of the Association and shall give thorough training in the Scriptures, Christian doctrine, and the history and meaning of the Church and of the churches to all of its secretaries, and advanced work to those whose main service is to lie in the field of the distinctively religious work . . . that the Convention resolve that the time has come to open direct negotiations with the leading denominations known as evangelical, for a careful study of the relations obtaining between the evangelical churches and the Association; and that it authorize the International Committee to appoint a Commission that shall enter into these negotiations."

The way would therefore appear now to be open for securing a better understanding and relationship between the Association and the churches.

2. *The Young Women's Christian Association*

The Young Women's Christian Association in its organization and its relationship to the churches parallels in the main the Young Men's Christian Association and need not, therefore, be discussed in detail. In the con-

stitution of the National Association it is agreed that local Associations affiliating with it shall require that the active membership, that is, the voting and office holding membership, be "limited to women who are members of the Protestant evangelical churches."

At the national convention of the Association in April, 1920, action was taken permitting any student Associations which so desire to substitute for church membership as the basis of membership in the Association a personal declaration of "sympathy with the purpose of the Association" and of intention "to live as a true follower of the Lord Jesus Christ." The taking of this action, however, in no sense indicates any departure from the avowed aim of the Association to serve the Church, since in the same resolution its purpose is declared to be:

"1. To lead students to faith in God through Jesus Christ;

2. To lead them into membership and service in the Christian Church;

3. To promote their growth in Christian faith and character, especially through the study of the Bible;

4. To influence them to devote themselves in united efforts with all Christians, to making the will of Christ effective in human society, and to extending the Kingdom of God throughout the world."

Provision is made that at least two-thirds of the cabinet members and of the advisory board "shall be members of churches which are entitled to representation in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and only those delegates who are members of such churches shall be entitled to vote in conventions."

There are now more than 2,000 local organizations of the Young Men's Christian Association in North America and more than 1,000 local organizations of the Young Women's Christian Association. The men's organization has more than 5,000 employed officers and the women's more than 2,000. Until the war the scope of the activities and program of the Y M C A was much more elab-

orate than that of the Y W C A. It is evident, accordingly, that the problem of unity within itself and of cooperation with the churches has been a much more complicated and extensive problem with the Y M C A. Any solution worked out in that field will be clearly helpful in the other, although the situation in each case is quite individual. The lack of ecclesiastical authority in women's hands, the general coherence of the "women's movement," the comparative lack of overlapping of women's church activities and of the work of the Association, the smaller volume of the Y W C A enterprise, the strong emphasis of women like Miss Dodge upon the loyalty of the Association to the Church and the intimacy of their own church relationships have been some of the elements which have perhaps simplified somewhat the problem of relation to the churches in the case of the Y W C A.

But the problem of the right theory and working plan needs to be solved here as in the Y M C A. Shall the Associations be voluntary organizations of Christian people seeking a channel of service beyond the worship and sacraments of the churches, or shall they be recognized as responsible agencies of the churches entrusted with a certain section of the churches' work? If the latter, should they be related to some central cooperative agency of the churches, or by some separate arrangement to each church? If the first of these, is there any such adequate central agency? If not, how soon may there be? If the second of these, would it be by action from the denomination through responsible representatives, or by the Associations themselves seeking and securing adequate contacts? These are questions which will become more, not less, pressing as time goes on and to which an answer must be found.

II. The Movement toward Administrative Union

While the Christian Associations have thus far represented great attempts to secure an undenominational fel-

lowship of members of all evangelical churches in Christian service, other significant efforts have been made, as we have seen, to bring the official agencies of the denominations themselves into cooperative relationships for a more efficient performance of the Church's tasks. We have next to consider, under the head of administrative union, such plans as seek common action without providing for that complete union which is possible only by the formal action of the churches as a whole.

Such common action may proceed either from the top or the bottom. It may originate in the local community or be initiated by the boards of the church. A typical example of local administrative union is the city missions council, as it has developed in such centers as New York and Chicago, creating an organization through which Christians who are members of various missionary societies can express their common ideal and make it effective in action.

But we are here interested primarily in administrative union on a national scale. An outstanding illustration was the Interchurch World Movement, aiming, as it did, to relate practically all the missionary and educational boards of the participating churches. This movement, however, was preceded by several other organizations, which, although securing cooperation only within separate fields of activity, made possible the more comprehensive undertaking and therefore need to be considered first.

1. *Administrative Union in Separate Lines of Activity*

In this movement toward a greater unity in carrying on the work of the Church the *Foreign Missions Conference of North America,* established in 1895, has been an exceedingly important development. It is an officially representative body chosen by, and reporting to, the foreign missionary boards. Provision is made for a systematic study of missionary problems. An annual con-

ference of the boards is held for deliberation and reports on questions of common concern. A Board of Missionary Preparation promotes more effective training of missionaries and prepares valuable material to this end. The Committee on Reference and Counsel coordinates the work of the various committees of the conference and is, in general, a board of strategy for all the cooperating organizations with respect to missionary policies and measures. In some points the cooperating boards have gone so far as to carry on certain activities through merged instrumentalities. The Committee on Religious Needs of Anglo-American Communities provides ministers and financial help, where needed, for the union churches among the English-speaking residents in the leading cities in Asia and Latin America.

The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, initiated by the Foreign Missions Conference, is composed of duly chosen representatives of the missionary boards in the United States and Canada carrying on work in Latin America. It is their central clearing house for this field and their agency of cooperative action. Through it they promote the production of Christian literature in Spanish and Portuguese, foster Christian education and evangelism, encourage the occupation of the entire field, develop at home missionary interest in the Latin American countries, and help to secure a place for the Christian spirit in the relations between the North and the South American people.

For a quarter of a century the Foreign Missions Conference has been a place of consultation, a bond of union, and an agency of common action for the churches in their foreign work. Its problem is the common problem of all such cooperative agencies. How much authority, if any, should be committed to it? How far, if any distance at all, should it be authorized to go in responsible administrative action in behalf of the churches?

The Home Missions Council, organized in 1908, aims

to serve the home mission agencies in the way in which the Foreign Missions Conference serves its constituent boards. Its purpose is "to promote fellowship, conference, and cooperation among Christian organizations doing missionary work in the United States, Canada, and their dependencies." It undertakes to secure such arrangements among the home mission agencies as will prevent duplication of effort and provide for the more adequate occupation of fields, by agreements to allocate responsibility for certain areas to specified denominational boards. Special committees deal with problems arising in connection with city, immigrant, and industrial work, and with work for special groups such as Indians, Negroes, Spanish-speaking peoples, Mormons, and Orientals. The chief contribution of these committees is in their collective study and investigation, the results of which have been available for all the cooperating bodies. Other committees give attention to recruiting for home mission work, publicity, and other questions that can be handled together better than separately.

The general policy of the Home Missions Council is to coordinate the activities of existing agencies rather than to undertake tasks of its own, except such tasks as can not well be carried on by a single denominational agency. Such general tasks as these are increasing. The war brought some of them to light in the war production communities. The presentation to the national mind of home missionary problems as a whole, the recruiting of candidates for the ministry and other forms of church service as well as for home missions, the work of the Church among immigrant groups, unavoidable relationships with governments—these, and many other demands of a work which is indivisible have been drawing the churches together in cooperative action.

The Council of Women for Home Missions (1908) and *the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America* (1916) are associations of the

corresponding denominational women's boards, promoting conference among them and cooperation in such matters as the preparation of literature and the promotion of interest in missionary work.

The Council of Church Boards of Education, an organization of the official educational agencies of the churches formed in 1911, undertakes to study their whole field of work and to secure cooperation in carrying on their tasks. Its Survey Department brings together important material bearing on the work of the American college, which is used to create interest in Christian education. A special commission considers the standardization of courses in church schools and colleges. Conferences of church workers in universities are held with a view to a more effective carrying out of a common program. A beginning has been made in the cooperative purchasing of college supplies.

The Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations was organized in 1910, as an association of the officially appointed Sunday school agencies of the churches, to confer together on matters of common interest, to give expression to common views and decisions, and to cooperate in such educational, editorial, missionary, and publishing activities as might be agreed upon. One of its most important committees is an advisory body on courses of study for Sunday schools, considering the principles on which courses should be constructed, the availability of existing and projected courses, and the methods to be employed in securing courses to meet observed needs and in cooperating with existing agencies for making and publishing the courses. At a meeting in June, 1920, steps were taken looking toward a merger of the Sunday School Council with the International Sunday School Association, an independent and unofficial association aiming to promote Sunday school work.[2]

[2]For a fuller discussion of the bearing of the Sunday school movement on church unity, see pp. 317-324 of this report.

What may we hope for from the method of approach illustrated by these various organizations for administrative efficiency? What are its advantages, and what its limitations? In what way must we supplement it, or change our present method of procedure, in order to attain the largest measure of success?

It should be clearly recognized, in the first place, that the kind of union for which these councils stand is of the highest possible importance. To the missionary and educational boards of the several churches is committed responsibility for those phases of the Church's work in which its unselfish and self-sacrificing character comes to clearest expression. Their representatives are men whose work brings them into closest and most direct contact with the evils of disunion and they have the experience of local conditions which makes their counsel as to what is practicable and desirable an indispensable condition of success. Nothing has done more to promote the spirit of unity in the churches than the creation of agencies through which the responsible leaders of the different church boards are brought together at stated intervals for common counsel, and in certain cases for common action. However hesitant their policies may have been, they have rendered invaluable service and have provided the foundations on which more far-reaching cooperation may be built.

On the other hand, the relation of the boards to the parent churches is such that the limits within which they may wisely act without explicit reference to the bodies from which they derive their authority is very narrow. When we measure what has been done by what we would wish to have seen done since the Home Missions Council and the Foreign Missions Conference, to mention no others, came into existence, one is impressed with the fact that without more drastic action at the top there is not much more to be hoped for from this method alone than has already been attained. The more com-

plete an organization becomes, the larger the number of units represented, the more difficult it becomes to move the whole faster than the pace of the slowest members. It was the desire to avoid such delays that gave rise to the Interchurch World Movement.

2. *Administrative Union on an Inclusive Scale*

The Interchurch World Movement of North America, originating in a conference of representatives of various missionary and benevolent boards of the churches in December, 1918, developed rapidly into the largest cooperative effort yet undertaken. It went beyond all the organizations above described by seeking to bring together not only the agencies engaged in a common line of work, but practically all the official agencies of the churches. The movement was inaugurated as a voluntary effort of the participating boards, the General Committee being appointed without waiting for denominational assemblies to give official authorization. As the movement developed, the importance of representative relationships became apparent. Consequently in September, 1919, the General Committee voted to make itself a more representative body by providing that at least two-thirds of its membership should be composed of persons approved by the various denominations.

The generally accepted point of view was that the Movement, being brought into existence to meet the urgent need for expansion in missionary work after the war, was not a permanent organization, and that it was not to be an administrative agency. The Cleveland Meeting of the General Committee declared:

"To meet the natural and proper inquiries of our churches as to the character and purpose of the movement we deem it wise to state: that the Interchurch World Movement is a cooperative effort of the missionary, educational, and other benevolent agencies of the evangelical churches of the United States and Canada to survey

unitedly their common present tasks, and simultaneously and together secure the necessary resources of men and money and power required for these tasks; that it is a spiritual undertaking of survey, education, and inspiration; that it is an instrumentality of cooperation and coordination of administrative agencies and designed to serve, not to supplant them. It is this positive character of the movement that we desire to exalt. At the same time, to prevent misapprehension, we affirm our definite understanding that this is not an ecclesiastical movement nor an effort at organic union. It will not disturb the autonomy or interfere with the administration of any church or board. Neither will it undertake to administer or to expend funds for any purpose beyond its own proper administrative expenses. It has a definite and temporary mission. It will not duplicate or conflict with other denominational agencies. It does not assume responsibility or authority in questions of church or missionary policy, recognizing that these belong to the cooperating agencies and organizations. And we disclaim all statements, by whomsoever made, contrary to this declaration of principles."

And the General Committee at Atlantic City in January, 1920, said:

"It is further recognized that the Interchurch World Movement is not organized for the purpose of administering missionary or educational enterprises, or for determining the policies of the several denominations, but leaves all such matters in the hands of the churches and the denominational or interdenominational agencies recognized by them. In its surveys it confines its service to ascertaining and portraying the facts, to calling the attention of the churches and their agencies to the needs revealed by these facts and to encouraging the churches, through cooperative effort, to work out the problems involved. The authority of the movement rests solely in the challenge of the facts it is able to present. It is therefore recommended that the determination and the initiation of policies for meeting the situations revealed shall be understood to be wholly with the churches and their own regularly constituted agencies."

The Movement culminated in a "united and simulta-

neous" financial campaign in May, in which each denomination sought to gather the fullest results from its own field and in which the Movement sought to gather from "friendly citizens," as they were called—that is, the element of the community sympathetic with the Protestant churches though not definitely related to them—the sum of $40,000,000, which was to cover the expense of the Movement for the year just ending and for the year ensuing, and to enable the churches to carry out advance undertakings. For various reasons this general campaign almost entirely failed, with the result that for financial reasons, if for no others, the Movement had to end or undergo radical transformation. Most of the denominational campaigns associated in the movement met, however, with a large degree of success.

What lay behind the Movement and what it sought to do are well set forth in the Report of the Committee on Reorganization, presented to the General Committee of the Movement on June 18, 1920:

"The Committee on Reorganization in submitting its recommendations as to the future program and structure of the Interchurch Movement desires first of all to recall to the mind of the General Committee the principles and purposes out of which the Movement sprang at its inception eighteen months ago. Four chief forces lay behind it:

"The first was the growing sense of kinship among the evangelical churches and the desire to give it expression.

"The second was the consciousness of the fragmentary and inadequate effort hitherto put forth to carry out the program of world service to which the Church is called.

"The third was the realization of the vast and urgent tasks laid upon us by the effects of the Great War.

"The fourth was the hope and belief that by cooperative action larger enlistment of life and treasure could be secured and better results obtained for energy exerted.

"With these aims in view it was agreed that the participating denominational agencies should associate themselves in a concerted plan, by which on the one hand they

should conduct upon parallel lines their respective forward movements and on the other should seek to accomplish through the Interchurch Movement organization certain things impossible to any one of them acting alone, but wholly possible to all acting together. Among these common undertakings the following were deemed of first importance:

"1. To make a thorough analysis of the total world task of the Church, locality by locality and item by item, to the end that neglected fields might be discovered; important existing work strengthened; unjustifiable work eliminated; and helpful relationships between all agencies and workers established.

"2. To conduct a continuous campaign of education, making use of ascertained facts, projected upon broad and varied lines and carried out upon a scale adequate to secure the attention of the nations at large and if possible to convince the judgment and awake the interest of millions of people now wholly or largely untouched by Christ's call to world service.

"3. To give cooperative leadership to the Church in the fields of industrial relations, philanthropy, evangelism, and education, to the end that the Church may more wisely and amply meet her obligations in these areas of service.

"4. To conduct a campaign for recruits to the ministry and mission service.

"5. To make simultaneous and united appeal for funds, sufficient in amount to support the sort of effort at home and abroad demanded by the conditions of the hour.

"Within the bounds of these aims the Movement has proceeded substantially; a year was spent in fashioning plans, enlisting the cooperating agencies, completing the organization, and launching the world survey. Six months were given to intensive work along the lines above named. The undertaking has proved, as was anticipated, huge and difficult. The prevalent shortage of workers, scarcity of office room, and prohibitory scale of costs have created obstacles at every step. Certain serious mistakes in method are now seen to have been made. Despite it all, there stands to the credit of the activities of these months a volume of achievement which in the judgment of your Committee reveals the validity of the pur-

pose of the Movement and its well-nigh boundless possibilities if carried out in full development. The survey of hospitals and homes in America is largely completed and will constitute a storehouse of information to all denominations which wish to meet their duty in these often neglected fields. The survey of educational institutions is also well toward completion. The religious education survey is also approaching completion. The foreign missionary surveys will constitute the first comprehensive picture of the non-Christian world which the Church has ever possessed. The home mission surveys, by far the most difficult and costly portion of the task, are well under way.

"The work taken over from the Missionary Education Movement and the Laymen's Missionary Movement has been carried strongly forward, as has also the publication of *World Outlook, Everyland, and La Nueva Democracia.* In the field of educational publicity multiplied conventions and conferences, local and state and national, have brought to some millions of people a new sense of the nature and urgency of the Church's task. Through the pictured and printed page the Christian world message has been widely proclaimed and pressed home. The appeal for life work recruits and for quickened evangelistic activity has been widely made.

"Various inquiries in the industrial realm have been conducted and one in particular dealing with the steel strike. A financial campaign has been conducted in which nearly every participating denomination has registered a marked advance on previous giving, in some cases such advance being revolutionary in degree. Connected with all these activities has been a wide leavening of the public thought and a clearer realization of the unity and immensity of the responsibility of the Church of Christ."

On the basis of this statement this Committee on Reorganization recommended that the Movement should go on but that its budget of expense should be cut down to one-tenth or even one-twentieth of what it had been, that there should be a "sharp limitation of the functions and activities of the Movement to the fundamental lines originally contemplated, these being of such nature as to

afford a channel of cooperation for the participating mission boards and denominational agencies," that all the old officers having resigned a new official staff should be formed, and that there should be "the establishment of closely coordinated relations between all interdenominational bodies (and) the use of every effort to articulate the Movement in the closest way with the denominational agencies which constitute it." Since the time when this statement was made there has been a growing tendency to believe that the Movement itself should be discontinued. The means of conserving the values at which the Movement aimed have not yet been fully agreed upon.

This is not the place for any extended review of this interesting experiment, but it is the place for an earnest attempt to draw out some of its lessons for the future with regard to movements of cooperation and union.

On the one hand, the Interchurch Movement represented some right and necessary ideas and rendered a useful service in bringing these ideas forward and revealing their place in the kind of movements we are considering in this report.

1. It recognized the existence of a spirit of cooperation and unity in the churches, which was ready to go very much further than it had been led hitherto and which wanted larger forms of expression than had as yet been provided for it. It rested on the fact that the great mass of the Christian people have a common view, that they are facing common needs with common resources, and that there is only one program, the common program of Christ, for meeting these needs. This is a unity which demands some definite form of union.

2. It proposed to face the whole duty, to lay before men the adequate scale of enterprise and endeavor. Such ideas dislodge men's views from trivialities and summon their best selves to loyalty and obedience. Great undertakings are unifying.

3. It set out accordingly to gather the facts about

human needs and the inadequacy of the effort which men were making to meet them. It proposed to publish these facts and to interpret their meaning and to reveal afresh in this way the indispensable task of Christianity in the world. This process is a welding process. The churches could carry it on only in cooperation and all its results add to the pressure for cooperation.

4. It provided a coordination of a score of denominational forward movements, which were seeking by common methods to accomplish common aims and which needed to use each other's experience and to amass a common momentum.

On the other hand, such lessons as these already emerge which we need to learn from our experience in the Interchurch World Movement:

1. The body of separatist, or immobile, or distrustful spirits which must be reckoned with is immense. Some for the sake of conscience, some from conviction, and some from lethargy, are set against all forms of interdenominational union. Others wish a brotherly and spiritual cooperation but, disapproving of all forms of organic union, fear any administrative union that may lead in that direction.

2. In cooperative movements it is essential that the principles and province of the cooperation proposed should be clearly thought out and agreed upon, that all that is done should be thought through as to its relation to the accepted plan, that doubtful and inconsistent elements and purposes should be eliminated or consciously reconciled. These were among the difficulties of the Interchurch Movement. Some joined the Movement with the understanding that it was temporary; others with the view that it was a beginning which must be carried forward into a new, permanent form. Some joined on condition that it would be promotive only and not administrative; others saw in it a chance to displace old and, as they deemed them, slow and inadequate adminis-

trative agencies. Some based their cooperation on the assurance that denominational interests and prerogatives would not be disturbed, and that the Movement could operate through denominational grooves; others deemed this an opportunity to transcend these. Sooner or later these and other contrasted tendencies were sure to breed difficulty and misunderstanding.

3. The Movement began as an irresponsible and non-representative movement. Individuals launched it and framed its organization. They sought to secure the endorsement of their boards, but even when this was gained there were lacking the confidence and responsibility which go with authorized representation. And it was soon seen also that the endorsement of boards was not enough. Such a movement committed the denominations as such and involved their most vital interests, so that action by the highest official denominational judicatories became inevitable. But such submission to the judicatories came too late. It ought to have been done before commitments had been made and courses of action embarked upon about which the churches felt they should have been consulted in advance. The whole Movement, difficult as this course might have been, should have been built upon such prior denominational acceptances. It is evident that cooperation involving denominational life needs denominational authority.

4. The Interchurch Movement suffered greatly from the pressure of inadequate time. The task which it undertook called for a much longer period than was allowed by circumstances. Already several of the leading denominations had carried through their own denominational campaigns, and could not enter freely into this Movement. Other denominations expected to do the same in the spring of 1920 and could not delay. The Movement was accordingly forced into a time schedule which was impossible. It attempted to carry through a program of common action on a scale that required the hearty coop-

eration not only of the boards, but of the denominations as a whole, without taking time for the preliminary education which alone could make success possible. Had this education taken place, the failure of the financial drive might not have led to withdrawal by cooperating bodies, but only to a revision of plans which would have brought the enterprise within the limits of the practicable. All cooperative movements must go more slowly than the fast are ready to go. If not, the slow will not be carried along. Since growth is organic and all union measures represent growth, they must be marked by the necessary patience.

5. In cooperative action as in individual character, money and ideas about money are a searching test. The vast scale of operating expenditures; the policy of financing the Movement by loans; the assumption of the continuance of the financial psychology of war times; the appeal to givers, especially outside of the churches, on the ground of bigness and in disregard of evangelical motives; the expression of the Movement, both because and in spite of itself, in money rather than in moral and spiritual terms were sources of fatal weakness. Many other cooperative movements have been made pitiful by their niggardly financial aspect. This movement fell over the precipice at the opposite extreme. Cooperative movements, it is seen, must protect their financial character with the most exacting safeguards, even though such caution is painfully hampering.

6. The wide scope of action proposed to itself by the Interchurch Movement carried it into difficult fields, where wide divergence of judgment separates equally conscientious Christian men. If a movement must deal with such issues it must be ready to take the consequences and must be sure that this is part of its primary and unmistakable business. On the other hand, cooperative movements have a difficult task in limiting their field without opening themselves to condemnation for timidity

or evasion. Each of our great cooperative movements of the present time is confronted with this problem in many forms.

7. Both from the Interchurch Movement and from the agencies combined in the war work campaigns, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and others, as well as from the Federal Council of Churches also, a grave lesson is to be learned as to the character and limits of organized publicity. It is a lesson for all agencies, denominational and interdenominational—the lesson that good work is its own best advertisement and that all excessive and self-exploiting publicity is a boomerang. Publicity that is to be truly Christian must be characterized by a certain institutional disinterestedness, seeking the exaltation not of a given organization but of the Kingdom of God.

8. The Interchurch Movement was led by earnest and unselfish men who worked with all their powers, but who essayed a task too great for any group. It was found impracticable to get any sufficient number of business laymen to act on the directing committees. Adequate counsel of this kind is indispensable. Two or three such men were left to carry a superhuman load. Cooperative movements find the task of securing a leadership that will please everybody well nigh impossible. The best amends that can be made are to have directing committees which are as far as possible actually representative, and to enlist both the balancing judgment and the energy of competent laymen.[8]

9. It is seen now that the difference between an interchurch movement and a super-church movement is not always easy to keep clear and steady. A new movement, if aggressive and energetic and aspiring, will seem to the

[8]The question may fairly be raised whether some of the lessons of good and ill which have been suggested by the Interchurch World Movement may not be drawn also from some of the separate denominational forward movements.

conservative minds to be really a super- rather than an inter-denominational movement, and it may easily in fact become so, duplicating or ignoring or supplanting activities which it regards as too cautious.

This was manifest to any one who followed the discussion in the ecclesiastical bodies which withdrew from the Movement. Apart from the justifiable criticism of the Movement along the lines already suggested, there was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction which proceeded from those who felt that, under the guise of cooperation in an enterprise of a modest and legitimate nature, pressure was being brought to bear upon them to surrender the autonomy they had hitherto enjoyed and to commit the charge of the most important enterprises of the Church to men not responsible to its authority or represented in its counsels. Among churches with a strongly developed self-consciousness, as among nations, freedom from external control has ever been a most valued possession, and no movement for Christian unity that does not recognize this fact and deal with it intelligently can hope to succeed.

What we must have, then, if we are to carry our practical cooperation beyond the point which it has reached today and develop an interchurch organization of a strength and effectiveness commensurate with the greatness of the task, is to marry the movement toward unity to the denominational consciousness, so that the interchurch program, in whatever form it is finally approved, shall be felt by each of the cooperating bodies to be just as much its own as the work which is done in the more narrowly denominational sphere. To create such a consciousness and to provide organs for its effective expression is the aim of the third type of movement, which we may classify under the head of federal union.

III. The Movement toward Federal Union

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in

America, as officially constituted by the action of the highest judicatories of the churches, represents the effort to go beyond administrative union alone by securing a federation of the denominations themselves.

The Federal Council dates definitely from 1908, when a plan of federation had been ratified by the national assemblies of thirty denominations. This plan of federation had been recommended in 1905 by the Interchurch Conference on Federation at Carnegie Hall, New York, made up of representatives appointed by the various evangelical denominations.

The object of the Federal Council is declared to be:

"1. To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church.

"2. To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.

"3. To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.

"4. To secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.

"5. To assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities."

The Constitution of the Federal Council provides that it has "no authority . . . to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it." No action is legally binding upon any of the constituent bodies until its recommendations have been ratified by that body.

The Council consists of about 400 representatives officially named by the various denominations and meets once in four years. The Executive Committee, which acts for the Council between sessions, consists of about 100 members likewise designated. The Administrative Committee, meeting monthly, which had hitherto been a

subcommittee of the Executive Committee, was reconstituted in 1919 so as to consist chiefly of direct representatives appointed by the constituent denominations. It includes also representatives of the following affiliated bodies: the Home Missions Council, the Council of Church Boards of Education, the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions. A consultative member is appointed by the Foreign Missions Conference. A few additional members of the committee are members at large or appointed because of their connection with other organizations which are carrying on important religious work.

The Federal Council serves as a clearing house for a considerable number of denominational and interdenominational activities, speaks in a representative capacity for the evangelical churches of the United States, and acts for them in several lines of work through various commissions. These commissions are of two kinds, those which aim to coordinate the activities of existing denominational agencies, such as the Commission on Evangelism and the Commission on the Church and Social Service, and those which carry out tasks for which separate denominational agencies do not exist, such as the Commission on Relations with the Orient, the Commission on Interchurch Federations, and the Commission on Relations with Religious Bodies in Europe. In promoting united action on moral and social views, in cultivating the spirit of fellowship and cooperation among the churches, and in developing local federations, the Federal Council has rendered a service of unquestionable value and exerted a potent influence in furthering Christian unity.

On the other hand, the experience of the Federal Council and of the churches in the Council during more than a decade has made these points clear:

1. The churches should entrust their central cooperative agencies with responsibility for a larger measure of direct action in their behalf. The Federal Council has hitherto pursued a course as careful and conservative as the course of the Interchurch Movement was aggressive and radical. It felt that so much was at stake that it must not make a false step and imperil the cause of cooperation by actions which might seem premature and unwarranted to the allied churches. The result has been that it has been criticized because, to quote the words of one of its friendly supporters, "It does little constructive work. It has many meetings, passes many resolutions, publishes many volumes, arranges many pleasant international visits, but does not accomplish definite results. Its main efforts are given to making the wheels go round. The Council, while nominally representing the churches, is not trusted by them with any responsibility and therefore must feel around for jobs for itself in order to keep busy. These surveys, pronouncements, etc., when made, do not represent anyone in particular and no one pays much attention to them except to criticize their claim that they represent the churches." This criticism does not recognize the real achievements of the Council, but it does indicate a limitation imposed by the slowness of the cooperative bodies to entrust responsibility to it.

2. The Council has the great advantage of a clear constitution with a definite statement of its functions, but it has also the accompanying disadvantages. Bodies which deprecate any closer union of the denominations welcome the Federal Council as a breakwater against organic church union and as an expression of a sincere spirit of fellowship which does not involve any real consolidation of action. Our friendly critic says on this point, probably exaggerating the case somewhat: "Most of the churches continue their membership in the Council because it signifies their belief in the principle

of Christian cooperation, not because of any service they expect from the Council or because they take it seriously as an organization that counts in the aggressive program of the Church in the world."

3. The comment, sometimes heard, that the personnel of the Federal Council tends to represent chiefly one wing of the churches suggests that, although it is difficult, it is necessary to secure in the directing force of cooperative movements as wide a range of theological and social conviction as the constituency embraces and to balance the elements as nearly as possible in the proportions of that constituency. It is also highly desirable to enlist in the work of the Council a larger body of lay counsel, such as has been gathered in the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations and as is found in the highest courts of our churches.

The existing situation with regard to the Federal Council may perhaps be fairly summarized somewhat as follows: In its behalf it may rightly be urged that it is always wise to make use of existing agencies before creating new ones; that the Federal Council is itself a body which has been created by the official action of thirty odd constituent churches; that it has a long record of useful and constantly expanding service; that even with those churches which are not formally members it has cooperated effectively through its commissions on social service, evangelism, and the like; that during the war it was the one agency which could take the initiative in calling together for conference all the religious forces of the country, except the Catholics and Jews; that in the War-Time Commission of the Churches and the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook it has succeeded in creating supplementary agencies through which the Christian forces of the country worked together amicably and effectively, and which were financed through a joint campaign in which no less than fourteen churches participated; that it is today recognized by the churches

abroad as the official organ of the united churches of this country, and is acting as an agent not only in relief work in Europe, but in planning with similar representative bodies in other countries for calling a council of the national churches of the different countries of Europe, to see what can be done to promote a better unification of the religious forces of Christendom and to repair the ravage to religion caused by the war.

As at present organized, however, the Federal Council has serious weaknesses which must be remedied before it can realize the ideal which the churches had in view in creating it. Apart from the fact that it does not include a few important communions, it is so limited in scope that its service is chiefly of a voluntary and educational character. Its financial support from the cooperating churches is practically negligible, and for what we do not pay we feel little responsibility.[1] Its connection with the central administrative agencies like the Home Missions Council and the Foreign Missions Conference, while intimate and friendly, is unofficial. Its work is done mainly through commissions, several of which are only collections of individuals, mainly privately supported and having no definite standing with the ecclesiastical bodies from whom their membership is recruited. It is clear that if the Federal Council is to become the agent through which the common life of the churches expresses itself, effective changes must take place in its equipment, in its support, and in the sphere of its activities. Above all, there must be a change in the attitude toward it on the part of its constituent churches. They must feel it to be, as they do not yet, their chosen and official representative in matters of common interest, and must accordingly give to it the trust and support to which such a position entitles it.

[1] It should be added, however, that recently some of the denominations have assumed a much larger financial support of the Council.

IV. The Movement toward Organic Union

1. *The Philadelphia Conference on Organic Union*

The fact that the Federal Council according to its present constitution has "no authority . . . to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it" has led to an effort to secure a federal union to which shall be delegated at least some of the powers now retained by the constituent churches. Such a step was sought in the Conference on Organic Union held in Philadelphia in December, 1918, at the invitation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and attended by representatives of nineteen communions. At that time an Ad Interim Committee was appointed to prepare a definite plan for submission to the churches. This plan, adopted at a second conference at Philadelphia, February 3-6, 1920, provides that when six denominations shall have certified their consent a council may be convened to function for what shall be known as the "United Churches of Christ in America." While the plan is federal in nature it is regarded by its proponents, and may easily be developed so as to become, a form of organic union.

The proposed organization differs from the existing Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America chiefly in that it is definitely committed to organic union. "In taking this step," the plan declares, "we look forward with confidence to that complete unity toward which we believe the Spirit of God is leading us. Once we shall have cooperated whole-heartedly, in such visible body, in the holy activities of the work of the Church, we are persuaded that our differences will be minimized and our union become more vital and effectual."

The constituent churches are to retain full autonomy in all matters not specifically delegated to the Council. Its purpose is declared in the following terms:[5]

[5] The full text of the "plan of union" is given in Appendix III.

"a. The Council shall harmonize and unify the work of the united churches.

"b. It shall direct such consolidation of their missionary activities as well as of particular churches in overchurched areas as is consonant with the law of the land or of the particular denomination affected. Such consolidation may be progressively achieved, as by the uniting of the boards or churches of any two or more constituent denominations, or may be accelerated, delayed, or dispensed with, as the interests of the Kingdom of God may require.

"c. If and when any two or more constituent churches, by their supreme governing or advisory bodies, submit to the Council for its arbitrament any matter of mutual concern, not hereby already covered, the Council shall consider and pass upon such matter so submitted.

"d. The Council shall undertake inspirational and educational leadership of such sort and measure as may be proper, under the powers delegated to it by the constituent churches in the fields of Evangelism, Social Service, Religious Education, and the like."

It is only in the two functions designated by (b) and (c) above that the proposed Council goes beyond the constitutional functions of the existing Federal Council. The Federal Council is not a final court of appeal for any of the churches, nor has it any authority over them. The new plan definitely contemplates transferring to a central council certain functions which the separate denominations are now exercising. The plan of union does not, however, define any specific functions which must be thus delegated. "Such consolidation" (that is, of missionary activities or of local churches), the plan says, "may be accelerated, delayed, or dispensed with, as the interests of the Kingdom of God may require." The distinctiveness of the new plan, therefore, is in the goal which it anticipates rather than in any concrete responsibilities which would necessarily be assumed by the central body at the outset. It positively commits the churches adopting it to the establishment of a new judica-

tory, which, within the limits of authority delegated, will have the same kind of power over the constituent churches as their own governing bodies now have. It proposes particularly to grant to the delegates who shall assemble at its biennial councils the responsibility for working out a real merger of the various missionary agencies.

For the proposal of the Philadelphia Conference this, first of all, is to be said—that it springs from an earnest desire to deal with the root of our present difficulty, namely, the divided consciousness of the different churches themselves. It springs from a feeling that this state of things should cease. What it proposes, therefore, as its goal is organic union, a union such that each of its constituent members can say: I belong to the one Church of Christ. Corresponding to the advantages of the plan are its difficulties, chief of them being the difficulty of persuading the larger Christian churches to make the surrender of power which the plan contemplates. But even supposing this to have been successfully overcome, there is the problem of the relation of this newly-constituted council to the existing Federal Council of the Churches. Unless all the bodies represented in the Federal Council accept the new proposal, there will still remain for the churches that form the new and more compact organization the problem of relating themselves to the bodies that lie without, and for this some agency like the existing Federal Council will be necessary.*

In any case the importance of seeing to it that the pro-

*The churches represented in the Philadelphia Conference were the Armenian, Baptist, Christian, Christian Union of U. S., Congregational, Disciples, Evangelical Synod of North America, Friends (two branches), Methodist (Primitive), Methodist Episcopal, Moravian, Presbyterian in the U. S. A., Protestant Episcopal, Reformed Episcopal, Reformed in the United States, United Presbyterian, Welsh Presbyterian. The Baptist body has subsequently voted to withdraw from the Movement. The Southern Presbyterian and the Southern Methodist, the Lutheran, and the Reformed Church in America, were among the churches not represented.

posed Council does not detract from the strength of the Federal Council now existing is very great. The action of the United Presbyterians at their General Assembly in May, 1920, is significant:

"It is evident that the Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America are mutually inclusive in intention, and, though now working together rather harmoniously, ultimately will conflict with each other, and can not long exist side by side; indeed it is the declared purpose of the Council of the Churches of Christ in America to displace the Federal Council. Each of these Councils is now in reality only a federal union of churches, and each is capable constitutionally of development into a closer federation and ultimately, when ecclesiastical sentiment in America permits, into organic union. The Council of the Churches of Christ in America proposes at the present time a little further advance toward real organic union, but has as yet not accomplished anything practical in the field of Christian activities; the Federal Council has made less progress toward organic union, but, through its many organizations, has already accomplished much practically for Christian activities throughout the United States.

"It is recommended:

"That the United Presbyterian Church discontinue its relation with the Council of the Churches of Christ in America and continue its relations with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America."

It is clear that care will need to be exercised to prevent the unfortunate contrasting, or colliding, of the ideas represented in this movement and in the Federal Council. If this movement were to succeed it would no doubt absorb the Federal Council. The greater activity would include the lesser. It would be most unfortunate, however, if the efforts to secure a future larger coordination should diminish the zeal of the churches in making use of the coordination which they already have or imperil the cooperation already achieved. It would be likewise unfortunate for a present good to impede a future bet-

ter. The wise solution would be for all who believe in the larger union to throw themselves heartily into the present union and for those who are satisfied with the present measure of union to recognize the entire propriety of the actions of those who believe that they are led of God's Spirit to go beyond the existing stage and to lead the churches further on.

2. *The World Conference on Faith and Order*

The eventual reunion of all Christendom—not only Protestant but Catholic, both Roman and Eastern—is sought by the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order. This movement, initiated by the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1910 as an outgrowth of the proposal for union made by the Anglican Bishops in the well-known Lambeth Quadrilateral,[7] aims to bring together official representatives of "all Christian communions throughout the world which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour." It proceeds on the principle that reunion is to be secured on the basis of agreement concerning essential doctrines. The purpose of the proposed conference, therefore, is "to facilitate mutual understanding by a candid and loving comparison of positive beliefs . . . striving to discern what is true and vital in the position of each communion in the hope of attaining to a common mind, in which everything that is precious shall be treasured and given its just and proportionate value."[8]

"No joint debate, after the fashion of past polemics, is proposed. No one is to be asked or permitted either to submit his own principles to attack or to assail the convictions of others. He will be expected to listen to the statements of his brethren, not to consider how they may be controverted, but to see if there be not at least a grain of truth in them. . . . But even if there be no

[7] See pages 250-251 of this report.

[8] Quoted from an official statement by the Joint Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church for a World Conference on Faith and Order.

grain of truth in a statement neither the conference nor any member of it is expected, nor will he be permitted, to do more than recognize wherein that statement differs from others."[9]

The conference, in a word, is to be an effort, on the part of the churches represented, really to understand and appreciate one another, in the hope that a better understanding of divergent views of faith and order may result in a deepened desire for reunion and subsequently in official action on the part of the various communions themselves.

This proposal differs from all the others which we have considered in that it contemplates a meeting which is literally ecumenical, that is, a council which includes representatives not of all nations only, but of all branches of the Christian Church within each nation. It includes in its scope those who refuse to recognize the existence of any other church than their own, as well as those who admit the existence of other churches, even though they regard their existence as unfortunate and temporary. Thus the Greek and the Roman Churches have been invited to participate as well as the group of communions familiarly known as Protestant, and until recently many of those interested in bringing about this gathering really believed that such a meeting was possible.

Experience has shown, however, that this is not the case. The Roman Catholic Church, true to the logic of its own position, has declined to participate in the council, intimating to those who conveyed the invitation that there was one way to achieve the end desired by the promoters, and only one—that all who desire membership in the one true Church should submit to the authority of him whom our Lord has designated to be its head, namely, the Pope of Rome. It appears, then, that if the

[9] "The Conference Spirit," by a Layman, p. 7. Issued by the Joint Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church for a World Conference on Faith and Order.

council is to be held it must be less than ecumenical, confining itself to that part of Christendom which believes that, however formidable the difficulties which separate Christians, they are not too great to be discussed. More than seventy commissions have been appointed to cooperate in preparing for the conference. A preliminary meeting of a few representatives of a large number of the commissions was held in Geneva, Switzerland, last summer to consider further procedure.[10]

There is something splendid in the ideal which the conference proposes, and there can be little doubt that the holding of such a gathering, even under the limitations above outlined, will be a distinct contribution to the cause of Christian unity. Contact between men who differ always tends to better understanding, and when that contact is inspired by a genuine desire to get together only good can result. Quite apart, moreover, from the direct effect upon the participants, the indirect effects of such a conference may be of great importance. It will be an impressive demonstration to the imagination of men that the unity of which Christians are frequently speaking is an actual fact, even if it be only a fact in the ideal world. As the greatest thing about the League of Nations is the fact that men have cared enough about international unity to create it at all, so the greatest fact about the conference will be the fact that it has seemed worth while to bring it about.

When we have said this, however, we must in fairness go on to say that, as a method of bringing about actual union among Christians, this method when taken by itself has serious limitations. For one thing, the size of the conference and the number of participating bodies render it exceedingly cumbrous and unmanageable. The mere convening of it is an affair of decades and the difficul-

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[10]For an account of this meeting see Appendix IV of this volume.

ties of space and time, to mention no others, will make it difficult, if not impossible, to secure the attendance of all those persons whose presence is essential to a gathering of Christians which is to be really ecumenical.

Again, the diversity of interests will make it difficult to give the discussions of the conference the definiteness which is necessary to avoid superficiality. The real work, as those who are interested well realize, must be done in the preliminary discussions which prepare the way and in the later conferences which follow. But for a conference which proposes no action, it is difficult to create the sense of reality which will command the preliminary attention necessary to make this preparation efficient and concentrated. The more, therefore, one believes in the Conference on Faith and Order the more he should interest himself in those more definite, even though more limited, movements which bring unity down from the clouds into everyday life and express themselves in practical proposals for action.

This has, unfortunately, not always been the attitude of those who have been interested in this mode of approach to the problem of union. They have been so fearful that men might be satisfied with some lesser goal than an all-embracing catholicity that they have sometimes discouraged action along other and more practicable lines, and themselves abstained from participation in such movements. Thus the Conference on Faith and Order, in the name of the larger union still to be attained, has acted in certain quarters as an obstacle to the cooperation that is now possible. It is a matter of encouragement that this earlier attitude has now been generally abandoned, and it is recognized that the more men experiment in possible unions, even on a narrow and limited scale, the more their minds will be prepared for the larger union of the future. It is particularly interesting to note that the 1920 Lambeth Conference adopted a resolution recommending that "councils representing all Christian

communions should be formed . . . as centers of united effort.'"[11]

For the difficulty of the attitude of indifference to the immediately practicable steps goes deeper than a mere postponement of action. It cuts men off from the experience in the light of which alone wise action is possible. How can we tell whether men are at one in essentials? Least of all, by what they say. For words mean different things to different men and different things to the same men at different times. If there is to be understanding, the words must be interpreted by the life which they describe and inspire. And this takes time and contact and sympathy. The most fatal of all the obstacles to union is the refusal to meet one's fellow-Christians half way. For it is only through the contacts which half measures make possible that we can tell whether the whole which is desired is attainable, and, if so, in what way.

[11] See p. 366 of this volume.

CHAPTER V

PRESENT PROBLEMS IN THE MOVEMENT TOWARD UNION

Our survey of the present state of the movement toward union has revealed to us a wide variety of influences now at work, and a bewildering number of agencies through which the impulse in this direction is seeking, and in large measure is finding, expression. Apart from the movements toward fuller unity within the different denominations, expressing themselves through new forms of ecclesiastical organization, and the efforts—more or less successful—to reunite in a single communion the divided members of the same or of closely allied ecclesiastical families, we have found at least five different types of movements to consider. There is, first, the movement for union between Christians of the same locality, which in smaller communities expresses itself in the so-called community church and in larger centers in the federation of churches. There is, in the second place, the group of movements which, while closely affiliated with the Church and definitely professing to serve its interests, are yet in their organization and control purely voluntary bodies, responsible, apart from the general influence of public sentiment, only to their own officers and members, such as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and a large number of other agencies to which no small part of the progress and enthusiasm of the last generation of Christian effort is due. There is, in the third place, what we have called the movement toward administrative union, which has its impulse in the desire for greater economy and efficiency in the necessary work of the Church. There is,

finally, the group of movements which contemplate official relations of union between the different denominations as such. These in turn fall into two groups—those which restrict their aims to cooperation, recognizing the autonomy and parity of the cooperating bodies, and definitely excluding from their programs any effort to realize what is ordinarily called organic union; and those which regard the existence of separate denominations as itself a temporary and unfortunate fact, and look for the time when all Christians shall belong to one Church, which, in its organization, doctrine, and worship, shall be catholic enough to make place for whatever is good and true in the doctrine, polity, and worship of the existing churches.

This fivefold classification is of course only approximate. In baffling and surprising ways the lines cross and recross. The movement for local federations is connected with the larger national movement through the Federal Council's Commission on Councils of Churches (State and Local). An intermediate step between official ecclesiastical union and the unofficial bodies of the type of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations is furnished by the Commissions of the Federal Council, which, created by a body itself officially responsible, have a considerable range of activity in which they function more freely. The Associations themselves are brought into close touch with the administrative organs of the churches in the Continuation Committees and similar bodies in which they meet for counsel with the leaders of the church boards. The constantly increasing responsibility thrown upon the Associations and the enlarged sphere in which they are operating lead them to approximate their activities to those of the regular missionary organs of the churches and cause overlapping and confusion which require careful study in order to define responsibility. Moreover, midway between the local units, whether ecclesiastical or voluntary,

and the national organizations to which they are ultimately responsible, the exigencies of practical work are creating new administrative units, such as the county and the state, which present problems of unity of their own. Finally, even in the largest sphere of all, which is concerned with the relations of the denominations themselves, the line between federal and organic unity proves by no means easy to draw. What exactly is meant by organic unity, and what by federal unity? May there not be a federal unity which is itself organic, even as the United States is a unit of federated states? Here is a whole group of problems, raising important questions of theory to which we must address ourselves if we are to base hope of progress upon a secure foundation. It is clear, therefore, that further definition is in order as to the nature of the union which we seek and the reasons for which we desire it.

That outer union presupposes an inner Christian unity goes without saying. Unless those who call themselves by the name of Christ are really one in the Spirit, no device of organization will avail. Beneath all outward unions, whether official or unofficial, there must be oneness of conviction, aspiration, and loyalty, of which all external activities are fruits. By their success in fostering and expressing such a spirit all plans for formal union must be judged.

But we are thinking here of something more than this. As the spirit of the nation finds expression in its institutions, so the Christian society finds social expression in the Church. It is the existence side by side of organizations with different creeds, polity, and form of worship, each naming the name of Christ and claiming to speak with the authority of His Church, which gives rise to our practical problems. It is only, therefore, as we are clear concerning the present hindrances and helps toward union as found in the existing churches, and concerning the various views of their relation to one another and to

the spiritual society which expresses itself through them, that we can make progress in achieving the practical union that we need.

I. Factors Which Impede the Movement toward Union

And first of the factors that impede the movement. They are of two kinds—those which grow out of differences of conviction and quality of spirit, and those which are due to practical difficulties arising out of the past history of the churches and the interests which their separate existence has created. We shall begin with the latter, not because they are inherently more important, but because they are so obvious and immediate.

1. *Factors Growing Out of the Past History of the Existing Churches*

In the first place, then, we must recognize the fact that the existing churches are here and have to be reckoned with. We sometimes speak of our denominational divisions as negligible factors perpetuating the memory of some ancient controversy which has long lost its meaning for intelligent modern men, but even if this fact were true, and it is far from being true, it is still undeniable that the churches today are very much alive and, so far as we can see, growing more active and self-conscious every day. However they came into being and whether or no they ought to have broken away from the parent stock to which they owe their original life, the churches today exist as powerful, intelligent, self-governing, and self-supporting units—each conscious of a history and traditions of its own, each committed to definite responsibilities in which it takes pride and for which it demands sacrifice, each commanding the service of a large number of persons whose livelihood and interests in life are wrapped up with its service and success. No one who has attended the meetings of a Methodist Gen-

eral Conference or a Presbyterian General Assembly or other denominational convention and lived through the days in which the work of that church in home and foreign missions was presented, but must have realized that he was dealing with a very real and potent factor in the religious life of America.

This independent life of the denomination includes a number of different factors, each of which must be taken into account if we are rightly to measure its significance. There is, first of all, what we may call the institution itself, with its whole complex of associations, habits, loyalties, and interests, which have crystallized into definite forms of procedure and action, having the sanction of law. A church, we repeat, is an independent and self-governing body, having its own constitution and methods of procedure, and any structural change which affects the church as a whole is possible only through the method of constitutional action, which takes time and involves delay.

But quite apart from the limitations imposed by the constitution and laws of the church itself, there are obstacles imposed by the relation of the Church to the State. A church is not only an independent, self-governing society which within proper limits may act as it pleases: it is a corporation, recognized by the state in which it exists and held to modes of action which incorporation makes necessary. Each denomination as a whole, as well as its several congregations and societies, is a property-holder, subject to the laws of the state under which it holds its property, and the aggregate of these holdings runs into the millions and even hundreds of millions of dollars. Any change in the constitution and control of any one of the existing churches affects its title to its property and creates difficulties, which those only can measure whose studies or whose experience have led them into the "no man's land" of the relation of Church and State. In matters of spiritual enthusiasm it is easy to ignore minorities but in property questions

these are anything but a negligible factor, as the history of church legislation abundantly attests. Witness the experience of the United Free Church of Scotland, or the more recent experience of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. in its union with the Cumberland Church. In each case the union consummated was the parent of a new division and in each case what would otherwise have been an unimportant secession was rendered formidable by the magnitude of the property interests involved.

But quite apart from the question of law or of property, there are personal interests to be considered, which require time and patience. An institution means office holders and, in the case of the existing churches, these are numerous, able, and devoted to the church to which they belong. Any comprehensive plan for organic union will mean for many of these not only change of habits and mode of life but, in many cases, actual loss of position or at least the exchange of a more for a less influential place. One need not attribute to the ministry of our churches base or selfish motives, but they would be more or less than human if they did not view such a change with grave concern and wish to be assured that the new alignment which is to replace the old is really a step forward and not simply the substitution of one new form of organization for another, with its resulting change of personnel.

But above and beyond all these definite and measurable factors there are certain imponderables which move in the region of emotion and sentiment. One does not live and worship in a church with the sincerity that goes with genuine piety without acquiring certain feelings of loyalty and affection, which it is not easy to define but which yet weigh powerfully in leading one to resist change. As the home in which one was born means something which cannot be replaced by any later habitation, however commodious and beautiful, so the church in which one first

heard the Gospel preached and learned to pray and work for the coming of Christ's Kingdom has a meaning and a value not easily to be transferred to any other institution. These unseen ties of loyalty and affection we must take into account when we measure the obstacles to union which grow out of the existence of the present churches as separate institutions.

2. *Factors Growing Out of Differences of Religious Conviction*

But these difficulties, serious as they are, lie on the surface. Far more formidable are those which grow out of differences of inner conviction as to the nature of the Church itself and its function in society.

The theological disputes between Christians have long been a subject of ridicule on the part of opponents of Christianity. We recall the famous remark by Gibbon about the debate over the person of Christ as having divided Christendom on the question of a single Greek iota. But, reprehensible or not, these differences are a factor which must be taken into account, for Christianity is not, in the belief of its adherents, a mere matter of private opinion and interpretation, but a divine revelation, and the Church receives its unique mission in the world from the fact that it is the bearer of a Gospel on which world-wide issues depend. Where sympathy might incline one to yield one's personal preferences, loyalty may require uncompromising firmness in witnessing to the truth.

The importance of such fidelity is reenforced by the fact that the message of which the Church is the bearer does not consist of abstract propositions about truth in general, although it has sometimes been represented as if this were so, but of a Gospel of redemption from sin and of personal salvation for the individual and of the establishment of the Kingdom of God as a new world order, made possible through divine initiative and requiring on the part of those who are to be sharers in its benefits loyal

acceptance of the conditions laid down. This common acceptance of divine revelation as to the momentous issues involved in the Church's ministry gives to the divisions between Christians a significance which they would not otherwise have. Other than human factors are concerned and other than human loyalties involved. In proportion to the greatness of the benefits is the greatness of the risk. Hence the rigid and unyielding character which has caused so much of the theological controversy of the past and which has left its traces in the divisions of the present.

It is not the place here to tell the story of these controversies or to dwell on the differences of conviction which now exist among Christians. We are concerned only with their effects upon the present divisions of the Church and their bearing upon the possible reunion of Christendom.

This, then, is to be noted first of all, that they transform existing differences of polity and worship into differences of religious conviction, which can be resolved only in the forum of theological discussion. Were the difference between Episcopalians and Presbyterians and Baptists simply a difference as to the form of organization, it might not be difficult to hit upon a mode of adjustment. Each form of government has its advantages, which can be retained without sacrifice of the others, and the ideal form of church government will doubtless be found to include elements from all three; but to those who hold these respective polities, or at least to a group within the churches which hold them, they are more than this. To them they are a part of that divine deposit of revelation which the Church is charged to transmit unimpaired to succeeding generations. To abandon or modify this divine deposit would be no light or forgivable matter. It would mean direct disobedience to our Lord Himself.

This attitude meets us in the view of the Church itself.

That the Church as an institution has divine significance we find the great majority of all Christians to agree. But on this common basis there are far-reaching differences. On the one hand are Christians who believe that the one invisible Church may express itself in many external organizations. To many Christians, on the other hand, the very idea of the existence of more than one organized Church is a contradiction in terms. The Roman Catholic finds this one all-embracing body in the Roman Catholic Church; the High Anglican, in the group of churches, now unhappily but it is to be hoped only temporarily divided, which agree in accepting the historic episcopate, the Catholic creeds, and the traditions of the undivided Church of the first six centuries; the extreme Southern Baptist, in the group that sees in the local congregation the final ecclesiastical authority. But all three hold that the only possibility of union is that those who are outside the bodies thus defined should surrender their present false position and come into the one true Church. It is true that the existence outside the boundaries thus defined of many persons who show in their character the fruits of the Spirit of Christ constitutes a problem which is acutely felt by the more sensitive consciences and which has been dealt with by the theologians of the respective bodies in various ways. Into this by-path of ecclesiastical history we do not here need to enter, for those who still insist that the only way to union is the complete submission of all who are outside what seems to them the one true Church, will not be open to the considerations urged in this report.

The insistence on an unchanging point of view meets us also in the two extreme conceptions of the ministry—in the high churchman's view of the episcopate and equally in the stricter Baptist's view of the local congregation. To the former the episcopate is of the essence of the Church in the sense that without a minister episcopally ordained there can be no valid administration

of the sacrament, which is itself the mark of the existence of the true Church. For the latter the local congregation is so truly the *fons et origo* of ecclesiastical authority, that where it is absent, there can be no Church, were every bishop in the episcopate present. So much is this the case that many Southern Baptists did not even desire their chaplains to purchase communion services lest they should be tempted in the presence of dying men to celebrate the Lord's Supper apart from the local congregation, an act that would render the sacrament invalid.

What is true of the ministry of the Church is equally true of its creed and of its sacraments. There are branches of the Church to which the repetition of the Trinitarian formula in the creed is so of the essence of Christian worship that they could conscientiously hold no communion with Christians who omitted it, no matter how much in their lives they might hold fellowship with God the Father, follow Christ in humble discipleship, and illustrate in their character the graces of the Spirit. There are Christians on the other hand—at least those who call themselves such—who would regard the repetition of the Trinitarian creed as a departure from primitive Christianity so radical as to involve betrayal of a trust, in which they could not acquiesce without disloyalty to Christ. So of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. As to their nature and the modes of administering them, there are differences of conviction so fundamental that up to the present time they make intercommunion impossible. Where a certain method of baptism, like immersion, or a certain mode of observing the Supper, is made the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae,* those who hold other views are by the very fact excluded from membership in the visible Church and the prospect of Christian unity is correspondingly diminished.

What makes these differences so serious is that they tend to perpetuate themselves by making impossible the one method by which they might be removed. That

method is contact. Creed, sacraments, and ministry exist not for themselves, but as channels through which the grace of God is conveyed to needy men and women; but if we differ in our view of the nature of these channels and the mode by which their ministry is effective, how are we to resolve our differences? Clearly, only in one way. We must put the matter to the test of experience. We must try the different ways in which our fellow-Christians claim that grace has come to them, to see whether we ourselves share something of their experience. But this the existing attitude of the high churchman on either side makes impossible. There is a conflict as to facts which can be resolved only by experience, but each party is so confident that he already possesses the whole truth that he is unwilling to make the test in the only way in which that test is possible.

3. *Factors Due to Permanent Differences in the Type of Religious Experience*

When we ask for the source of the differences of conviction which we have analyzed in the preceding section, the answer is in part historical. Long association with the different forms of belief and worship practiced in each branch of the Church has given each a sacredness and authority that make it seem of the very essence of the Gospel. And when this is reenforced by the conception of divine revelation as the impartation of unchanging truth, which is characteristic of all the churches, the thought of change is rendered correspondingly difficult. But, quite apart from this, there are subjective reasons in the nature of the religious experience itself. There are different types of religious life which recur from age to age—in part the results, in part the cause of the differences we have described. These permanent differences in the type of religious experience make the mode of approach to God which one man finds natural and congenial, impossible or repellent to another.

That mysterious factor which we call temperament, of which we know so little although we experience its effects so intimately, has been a great factor in the history of religion. The mystic, the authoritarian, the sacramentarian, the radical individualist, these—to mention only a few of the more outstanding types—must be reckoned with in any comprehensive program for Christian unity.

Especially important for our present purpose are the two contrasted types which we have called the sacramentarian and the radical individualist. Each emphasizes an element in the Christian experience to the exclusion of the other. The sacramentarian magnifies the significance of the institution for human life. To him the organized Church is the very center and core of Christianity. In the rites handed down to us from the remote past, performed by the priest who has received his commission from Christ Himself, and partaken of in reverence and faith, he is conscious of receiving a mystical grace by which his whole nature is renewed. Tyrrell has expressed the type of experience for which the sacramentarian stands, when he describes the infinite distance between the altar as the Catholic churchman conceives it and the Lord's table conceived as a memorial symbol or the center of a common meal. How can a man with such an experience as this find himself at home in a Baptist revival service or a Presbyterian prayer meeting?

To the individualist, on the other hand, the central fact of the religious life is the presence of God's Spirit in the soul of the believer. This is, in the case of each man or woman who ever lived, an individual and unrepeatable experience. God, who reveals Himself through Christ and the Gospel, is received by faith by the believer, works a transformation through regeneration which appears in a sanctified life, and leaves a sense of freedom and joy which makes him who possesses it independent of all that is external or historic. The Church consists

of all who share in this experience. Its continuity is the body of redeemed lives, and the sacraments are rather signs of a life that has been directly created by God than agents in its creation.

There seems little doubt that in each of these cases we are dealing with a permanent human type. There is equally little doubt that as we meet them at present they are serious obstacles to union, for it is characteristic of each of these types of the religious life that it takes its own experience as authoritative and finds it difficult to detect in the other what it regards as the marks of essential Christianity.

There is, however, a quality in the individualistic type which differentiates it from the other and demands special consideration. The sacramentarian may conceive church union narrowly, but it is at least a part of his ideal for Christianity. The individualist, however, has suffered so much from ecclesiastical tyranny in the past that he questions whether church union, in the sense in which it is usually discussed, is desirable at all. He recalls the experience of Europe under the undivided Roman Church. He points to those countries where today Rome has full sway. He contrasts the state of religion in the United States, with its many free churches, or in England, where nonconformists divide the field with the establishment, with that of Germany under a state church. Where there is but one church he finds stagnation, uniformity, deadness; where there are many, life, movement, progress. He is inclined to believe that there is a reason for this, which we shall ignore at our peril. He sees in the desire for a single all-embracing Church a sign of that aristocratic and imperialistic conception in religion which the modern democratic spirit is trying to banish from the State. Above all, he fears that too great insistence upon outward union may divert attention from those inward unities of spirit which are all-important, and in seeking to create a single all-embracing organization may force

those who believe in liberty and variety to withdraw from even that measure of cooperation which we have so far attained.

4. *Factors Due to Lack of Clear Perception of the Question at Issue*

Apart from these major and permanent differences growing out of history, conviction, and temperament, there are certain minor obstacles which are not the less formidable because unrealized and unconfessed. There is the natural inertia which opposes change. There is lack of interest, due to lack of contact. Above all, there is the very real difficulty which grows out of confusion of thought as to the real issues involved and the significance of the steps that are proposed. There are so many different forms of the movement for union that it is not strange that this confusion should arise and that men whose support would be secured if the real issue were made clear are alienated because they suppose other matters to be involved to which they are not yet ready to commit themselves. Most important, then, if progress is to be made, is a clear definition of the thing to be reached and the method to be followed in reaching it. Above all, we must distinguish between the nearer and the more distant goal and see to it that we do not sacrifice the joint action that is immediately possible because there are later and larger matters on which we may disagree.

II. Factors Which Further the Movement toward Union

We have considered the obstacles which block the way to union. It remains to consider the influences that are working in its favor. These we can treat more briefly, since our previous discussion has already made us familiar with them. It is necessary only to classify them and to estimate their significance.

1. *Factors Growing Out of the Nature of the Christian Religion Itself*

First in importance are those which grow out of the nature of the Christian religion itself. From the first, Christianity has proclaimed itself a world religion. The redemption it brings is freely offered to all mankind. The Kingdom into which it invites men is an all-embracing society in which existing differences of race, nationality, class, and education are transcended. In the Cross God has broken down once and for all the middle wall of partition between man and man and made even widely separated and rival groups one new man in Christ Jesus. Clearly, then, the Church which proclaims such a Gospel and such a salvation must be one, and the unity of spirit in which all Christians alike believe must find some visible expression if it is to convince the world of its existence. The high-priestly prayer of Christ, "that they all may be one . . . that the world may believe," only expresses in words that which is the very heart of the situation. The more one contemplates the nature of the Christian religion, the more one enters into the greatness of the task which Christ has laid upon His Church, the more irrational and unintelligible must become the present condition of our divided Christendom.

This unity, implicit in the Christian religion, becomes apparent the moment we consider more in detail the nature of the Christian Gospel. It appears in the Christian conception of God who, as the universal Father, desires the salvation of all men and their union one with another in the family of God. There are many points in which Christians differ in their thought of God, but these sink into insignificance in comparison with that in which they are agreed. In the midst of a world in which many have made selfishness the law of their life, surrounded by men engrossed in narrow and petty aims and indifferent to ideal interests, all Christians believe in the

Father God, righteous, wise, and loving, who, in spite of the infinite distance by which He is removed from man in character and in power, is yet in a true sense akin to him, and who in Jesus Christ has given man a revelation of what he should be and what he may become.

The unity of the Christian religion appears further in the Christian attitude to Jesus Christ whom all Christians, in spite of their differences from one another, unite in confessing as their common Lord, their Saviour, and their Guide. Face to face with the mysteries of life, encompassed on every side with unanswered questions, Christians of every name see in Christ the way, the truth, and the life, God's solution of the mystery of life and His answer to its unanswered questions. In Him they see at once the revelation of God and of man, the window through which they look into the face of God, their Father, and the mirror in which they see reflected that which they shall become. And not only this: they see in Him their Captain in the daily struggle against evil, the one who upon the cross has taken upon Himself the burden of their sin, and not theirs only, but that of the whole world, and who is the Lord of that Kingdom which is to be established upon the earth, the Kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy, in which he is to be greatest who is minister, and he is to be chief who is servant of all.

The unity of the Christian faith appears further in the Christian experience of the Holy Spirit. In a world which is full of failure, weary and discouraged because its hopes have been baffled and its plans have gone astray, all Christians believe in a present power able to transform and to renew. Their faces are turned forward, and not back, to that new world which is to be formed when God shall have His way in men's hearts and the creation which groans and travails together in pain until now shall be delivered from its misery through the revelation of the sons of God.

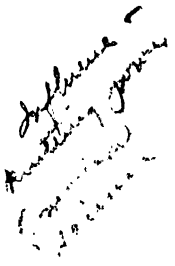
It appears finally in the common acceptance by Christians of the great commission. Themselves children of God, redeemed by Jesus Christ and renewed by His Spirit, they recognize His call to share that which they have received with others. The custodians of a great trust, which they interpret, to be sure, in different ways, they are at one in recognizing that what has been given to them has been given not for themselves alone, but for all mankind. From the first, Christianity has been a missionary religion and the missionary ideal is by its very nature an ideal of unity. As there is only one Christ and one Spirit and one God and Father of all, as there is only one family into which all the nations of the world are called, so in the nature of the case there can be only one Church through which the unity of this new social order must be proclaimed, expressed, and realized.

This consciousness of the unity in the Christian religion has become increasingly prevalent among Christians. The story which in this report we have passed in review is the story of deep-seated spiritual convictions finding their way to expression in spite of obstacles apparently insuperable. Men may differ in their definition of this goal. They may differ in their view of the way this goal is to be reached, but they agree that Christianity is a world religion, rightfully claiming the allegiance of all men and that the time is coming when this common allegiance will find public and outward expression.

This deepened consciousness finds expression in the growing disposition to make the unity of Christ's Church the object of Christian prayer. Not simply in formal petitions ecclesiastically approved, not simply as part of the stated prayer offered up from Sunday to Sunday in divine worship, but in prayer circles and other informal groups, Christians are meeting to pray for union. Such prayer is not only a sign of the oneness of spirit which already exists; it is a powerful means of increasing it by creating the spirit and temper of mind in which

men hitherto strangers can come together. The God in whom Christians believe is a God who answers prayer, and Christ who taught men how to pray aright made the unity of all Christians the subject of His own high-priestly prayer.

2. *Factors Growing Out of the World's Need of a United Church*



This impulse inherent in the nature of the Christian religion itself is powerfully reenforced by the revelation of the greatness of the world's need. There was a time when men's conception of Christianity could be parochial because their vision of the world was bounded by the community in which they lived; but this time has long passed. Steam and electricity—those twin wizards of the modern world—have broken down the barriers that used to separate the peoples and have made the whole world a unity. Trade and commerce—in all ages introducers of people to one another—have made distant peoples dependent upon one another, not simply for luxuries and conveniences but for the very food they eat. But with the contact they have brought new dangers. Disease knows no barrier of race and ideas fly faster even than germs. Out of this closer contact rivalries and suspicions are born, the strong exploit the weak, and the ignorant become the prey of the well-informed. In our life as citizens of the world we are proving the truth of the apostle's saying that none of us liveth to himself alone. We are members one of another, and if one member, even the weakest, suffers, all the others suffer with him.

This sense of world-wide unity has been mightily reenforced by the war. We have learned that in the greater issues, such as those of war and peace, we are no longer arbiters of our own destiny. What we shall do and suffer is decided for us by others. It is for us only to determine in what spirit and to what end we shall do what we do

and endure what we endure. We did not desire war. We went to the limit to avoid it. But war came and claimed its toll of our men and our means and we could not withhold them if we would. And as the war taught us our unity in dependence and in suffering, so it taught us unity in resolution and in action. Had ten times more been asked of us, it would have been forthcoming, for the need brought forth the will and in need and will alike the nation found itself at one.

What happened to the nation as it faced the tasks of war is happening to the Church as it faces the tasks of peace. For here again we face a great need and see that only the greatest possible degree of unity can suffice. What that need is, and the nature of the appeal, we have already been forced to consider in the course of the preceding pages. It is the need of a united witness to a world which out of the experience of suffering has come to doubt the reality of the things for which the Church stands.

This need meets us in the field of Christian missions in the widest sense of that term. We have never seen the situation in the non-Christian world as clearly we see it now.[1] We know not only the need but also the opportunity—the open doors of invitation and appeal. From every country of the world they come asking for our help, our sympathy, our service. We can meet the call adequately only by meeting it together. We know this because we have tried to do it separately and failed. So from the mission field, in the most direct and insistent way, comes the call for union, and in ways outlined elsewhere in this report we are beginning to respond.

It comes to us from our own country, as we face the industrial and social unrest which gives us such serious food for thought. In another report we have studied this

[1] See the earlier report of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, entitled, "The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War," Association Press, 1920.

challenge and found that it is one that only the Church of Christ can meet.[1] For what the labor movement is asking today is not primarily wages and hours and insurance, but understanding and sympathy and brotherhood. It wants its share in the decisions that determine its own destiny and make or mar the lives of the workers. But this is the sphere of personal relations, with which the Church by its very nature has to do. Till Christ's principles come to be recognized as the law of society, as well as of the individual, and His will be done in earth as in heaven, there can be no permanent industrial peace. But how shall these principles prevail and this will be done till Christians, now divided, find some way to plan and act more effectively together? A just and harmonious social order cannot be the product of a divided Church.

When we pass from our own country to the field of international relations, we find the same conclusion reenforced. The war that was to have brought world peace has proved the parent of new wars. Wherever we look we find rivalry, suspicion, fear. Men long for a better world, but they despair of realizing it, and here, as always, hope deferred has made the heart sick. The very League of Nations which is proposed as a remedy for the world's illness is rejected by some because it yields too much to idealism and by others because it gives too little. What might be done is left undone because the mutual trust which is the condition of common action is lacking. Is there not here a call to Christian union which transcends in importance all other issues? For it is Christianity which proclaims the very ideals in the name of which any League of Nations must function, and with these ideals, what is far more important, promises power to realize them. But how shall men believe in the power, and so

[1]The report referred to is "The Church and Industrial Reconstruction," Association Press, 1920.

bear the sacrifice for which the ideal calls, unless Christians themselves shall, in manifest and visible form, give a demonstration of the power of God's Spirit to dispel suspicion, cast out fear, and unite in common love and service those who have given their allegiance to the God of Love? What the nature of the Christian religion reveals, the need of the time demands—a common spirit expressing itself in common service through a common Church.

3. *Factors Growing Out of Past Experience of the Practice of Cooperation*

The third help in the effort to realize Christian unity is the experience already gained of the practicability of working together. What this experience has been and the forms which it has taken we have elsewhere discussed so fully that it is not necessary for us to repeat the story here, but it may be worth while to recall for our encouragement how recent much of this experience is and how great the change in sentiment of the rank and file of Christians which has resulted from it.

The movement for union, of course, is not of recent origin. In every age men have longed and prayed for it, and for more than two centuries the story of the different movements for union has constituted a considerable part of the history of American Christianity.[8] But certainly the extent and power of the movement have greatly increased. The attitude of the rank and file of Christians toward their fellow-Christians of other names differs widely today from what it was a half century or even a quarter of a century ago. Things seem possible now which were then almost beyond the range of discussion, and things natural which then would have seemed too much to hope for. In this growing familiarity with the

[8]The whole historical study which constitutes the second part of this report makes this unmistakably clear. This historical study, moreover, is of great value for those who are concerned about church unity today.

idea of union, which is the result of a generation of working together, we have an asset the value of which it is difficult to overestimate.

This disposition to live and work together was mightily reenforced by the war. The war, as we have seen, not only revealed the nature of the unity already attained, but created new organs through which this unity could find expression. The foundations already laid by the Federal Council and its commissions made possible the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, which carried these principles a step further, and made possible also the more ambitious attempt of the Interchurch World Movement. In the momentary reaction from the disappointed anticipations for this movement, the danger is that we shall underestimate its great service to the cause of Christian union. To how many to whom the idea was unfamiliar it has been brought by the propaganda of this movement, we shall probably never know, but in the wide publicity given the idea and, above all, the many conferences which brought men of all communions into personal contact, there was laid a foundation of experience which is rich in promise for the future.

One phase of our war experience already referred to deserves special emphasis—namely, the fact that in the organization which expressed the unity of the Christian forces, the General War-Time Commission, a way was found to include churches like the Episcopal and the Lutheran, which had hitherto found it impossible to take their full place with other churches in the Federal Council. Here it is sufficient to say that in the chapel at Camp Upton, for example, a building erected on government ground for the use of the religious forces of the Camp, financed cooperatively by seven different communions and used by all with the utmost fraternity, we have an experiment in Christian cooperation which deserves study and may well find imitators.

4. *Factors Growing Out of a Better Understanding of the Nature of the Union to Be Sought*

One more influence needs to be noted to make our analysis complete, and that is the help which has grown out of a better understanding of the nature of the union to be sought. We are coming to see the falsity of the "either, or" type of union. Comprehension, not uniformity, is the idea at which we aim. Instead of trying to erect barriers to keep out of the Church those whose religious experience differs from our own, we ask ourselves whether there is not something wrong with a system which separates us from those who, however different in experience, are yet manifestly moved by the spirit of Christ. Paul's picture in the twelfth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians is recovering its rightful place in our definition of the ideal of the Church and we realize that in the Catholic Church of the future all types of experience and practice which have appeared in the great ages and sections of Christian history must find a home.

In this conclusion we have been greatly aided by the result of recent studies in church history. We realize, as we did not before, how much more complex and many-sided is the history of the Church than we had supposed, how many different forms of belief and practice it reveals, how widely its later developments differ from its earlier and simpler forms. What seems strange and out of place judged solely by its present surroundings becomes natural and intelligible when interpreted in the light of its history. Instead of writing as lawyers who hold briefs to prove the case of their own section of the Church, scholars of all the churches have joined in impartial research from the results of which all Christians alike are gaining. As a result a new temper has been introduced into our discussions—a temper of sympathetic and openminded inquiry—which is full of promise for the future.

Further help has been afforded by the comparative study of religions. As we have come to know other religions of the world better, many misconceptions have been cleared away. We understand their similarities to Christianity but also the wide gap which separates them from it, and in the knowledge of that which distinguishes Christianity from them in spite of its similarities we find a point of contact with our own fellow-Christians from whom we have hitherto been separated. If Christ be, as modern critical study establishes, the distinctive feature in the Christian religion and the point by which it is separated from all others, then those who alike own allegiance to Christ and work for His Kingdom have a bond of union more potent than any differences.

Nor must we overlook the contribution of the psychology of religion, with its better insight into the nature of religious experience. This is teaching us how impossible it is to divorce doctrine from life. It shows us that growth is a law of religion as of all life, and that truth drives out error step by step as light drives out darkness. Progress we see to be a fact in Christian history—progress in the appreciation and in the application of truth—and this insight has its reflex influence upon our definition of Christian union. In an expanding and self-renewing religion like Christianity, the Church can never be a finished thing. There must be space in its capacious structure for ever new rooms, in which free men may try new experiments to add to the beauty and richness of the whole.

So modern science is teaching us sympathy. It is helping us to enter into the meaning of other types of experience than our own and so providing contacts out of which the larger experience of the future is to be born. What we need above all is that this new insight should be shared. The vision that has come to the few should become the property of the many, so that that common Christian consciousness may be reached which shall make

possible the Church of the future. Surely the time has come when the whole Church, no less, should be the study of each part of it, and in this many-sided and fascinating history no part deserves more careful attention, or will repay it better, than the story of the movement toward more complete unity which forms the subject of the present report.

III. Points of Contact between Differing Attitudes toward the Existing Churches

We still find, however, even among those who believe in cooperation and admit the possibility of union, a disagreement as to whether anything like a corporate union is desirable. There are those who regard the presence of separate churches side by side as unfortunate and undesirable, but there are others who regard it as a normal and even a desirable situation. Upon an understanding of this difference and the reasons which lead to the positions on either side depends our definition of the aim of Christian union, and therefore our judgment of the specific steps to be taken to secure it.

On the one hand we find those who believe that the existence side by side of different bodies calling themselves churches of Christ, each having complete autonomy and independence in the sphere of belief and practice, and often competing with one another for the support of Christian people within the same territory, constitutes so flagrant a violation of the ideal of Christ as to become a public scandal which all Christians should unite to put a stop to. They are ready, of course, to admit that in the Providence of God the existence of the different churches as separate bodies has been the means of preserving aspects of Christian truth which, apart from this separate existence, might have been imperiled, if not lost sight of altogether. But they believe that the lessons taught by the separation have now been learned, that new issues have arisen which demand the union of

Christians, and that to perpetuate this separation after the reasons for it have ceased to exist is to act wrongly and to imperil weighty interests. To this conclusion they are impelled by the various motives that we have discussed. Most important of all, they are convinced that the spiritual unity which underlies the Christian religion requires some external and organic expression, not only for its revelation to the world but even for its full realization and adequate functioning among the members of the Church themselves. To men of this temper organic union, or the existence of some one comprehensive organization in which all members of the Church of Christ are in some manner embraced, becomes the supreme object of Christian effort and prayer.

To others, however, equally earnest and sincere, the matter appears in quite a different light. To them the existence side by side of a number of different churches seems entirely natural and fitting. They recognize, to be sure, the disadvantage and scandal of the existing situation, but they regard these as due to other causes which can and should be corrected. No less convinced than their fellow-Christians of the other school as to the importance of Christian unity, they regard this primarily as a matter of inward spirit and temper, and they fear that insistence upon outward organization will divert attention from this essential matter. They recall the fact that the ages of outward unity were not the ages of greatest spiritual sympathy, and they point to countries where a single state church holds sway as examples of the deadening effect of ecclesiastical uniformity. Mankind, they feel, is composed of men of very different natures and points of view. Our present system provides for these differences in the easiest and most natural way. Provided only we recognize that our fellow-Christians of other names than we are, as truly as ourselves, members of the one Church of Christ, provided we arrange through proper agencies for confer-

ence and understanding as to those methods by which it is essential that all Christians should work together, there is no reason, they say, why our present independent organizations should not be continued. As many states may make up one nation, so many churches may compose one Church. Federal union, therefore, as distinct from organic union, constitutes the ideal toward which this group of Christians believes we should strive.

For convenience, we have expressed the difference above described in the form of a sharp contrast. As a matter of fact, however, the line of demarcation is by no means as clear as our description would seem to imply. Each side is coming increasingly to recognize the force of the arguments to which the other appeals, and to make place for them in its statement of the case.

Thus those who consciously set organic union as their ideal conceive the union they would attain as embracing lesser unities, which shall express and conserve the values which have given rise to the existing churches. They no longer look upon them as mere perversions and errors, but as legitimate affirmations of neglected aspects of Christian truth. They do not ask or desire any surrender of principle on the part of those to be embraced in the larger unity, but rather such mutual recognition of truth and gift as shall make it possible for all aspects of Christian grace and experience to find free expression within one Catholic Church. As Roman Catholicism makes room through its monastic orders for widely different emphases of doctrine and types of experience, so within the comprehensive Church to which these advocates of union look forward, the doctrinal emphasis of the Presbyterians, the order and dignity of the Episcopalians, the fervor and missionary zeal of the Methodists, and the insistence upon personal freedom and initiative for which Congregationalist and Baptist stand, will all find expression. Union is to be attained by addition, not by subtraction—by comprehension, not by surrender.

Those, on the other hand, who value the flexibility and variety of our present system are increasingly aware of its limitation and weakness. Conscious though they are of the essential spiritual unity of believers, they realize that our present system of church organization presents practical obstacles to the expression of unity in action. We have seen how within those denominations like the Congregationalist and Baptist, which insist most strongly on the autonomy of the individual congregation, the exigencies of the missionary appeal have given rise to powerful boards through which the denomination as a whole functions on a nation-wide scale. But the same motive applies also to interdenominational activity. Through organizations like the Federal Council, the Home Missions Council, and others, common action on the part of a large number of Christian churches has become a familiar idea. The war greatly increased this tendency to common activity. The task of Christianizing the world is now seen to be too complex and difficult to be successfully accomplished by a divided Christendom, and, in spite of the protest of the individualists of all schools, the sentiment for union is unmistakably gaining ground every day.

Thus while the advocates of organic union are coming more and more to recognize the importance of variety and freedom in the organizations of the Church, those who insist on freedom are using their liberty to come together. Even where differences of theory remain, the field of common action is constantly enlarging. And here as always practice and theory act and react, and experience, that supreme teacher of charity, now puts into names that used to divide a more generous and congenial meaning.

IV. Bearing on the Different Kinds of Union Proposed

In the light of the foregoing discussion we are prepared

to consider what is involved in the different types of union that have been proposed.

1. *Administrative Union*

Administrative union—which we have defined as any union of official boards or other agencies of the Church, as distinguished from a union of the denominations themselves as corporate units—is related to the more complete types of union (federal and organic) in two ways: first, it provides the machinery through which these more thorough-going unions may function; second, since it depends for its existence on the sanction (expressed or implied) of the parent bodies whose agencies unite, its extent is limited by their attitude to the larger question of federal or organic union. Those churches which are not willing to enter into federal or organic union commonly limit the freedom of their boards to cooperate with others in administrative union. Hence the larger question becomes important not for its own sake merely, but because of its bearing upon the possibility of cooperation in nearer and more practicable matters.

Separate as the paths they seem to follow, the movements toward organic union and toward federal union are drawing ever nearer and nearer together. Those who believe in organic union are coming to see that for the Church, as for the nation, federal union may be not only the path to organic union, but at least one among other possible forms which organic union may take. Those, on the other hand, who have refused to go beyond federal union are discovering that in the measure that federation is really effective, it is because it expresses and promotes that consciousness of common unity in Christ which it is the aim of organic union fully to realize. In spite of this approximation, however, there is still a difference which in order to clarity of thought it is important for us to recognize.

2. Federal Union.

By federal union we have understood any form of official union between denominations as a whole which leaves their original organization unimpaired and reserves for each of the units thus united a large field of independent power, authority, and initiative. The best known example is the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, a body constituted, as we have seen, by the action of no less than thirty cooperating denominations, each of which makes a moderate contribution to the support of the Council and is represented in its executive and administrative committees by duly appointed delegates.

It is this retention of the individuality of the uniting churches unimpaired which differentiates federal union from other forms of corporate union. Even if the constituent bodies in a federal union delegate their powers to a central agency, they are able to resume them at any time. But organic union carries with it a note of irrevocableness, such as exists in the relation of the several states in our nation to the central government.

The analogy of the states of the Union is a helpful one, because it shows not only the difference between federal union and organic union, but also their points of contact and transition. The theory of the southern states before 1861 was the theory of federal union in the narrower sense. They had surrendered powers, but for the time only. What they had given they believed they could resume. But to the North this alternative no longer existed. Federal union to them meant organic union: not because they denied the right of the separate states to existence and sovereignty within the sphere of rights reserved, but because they believed that the rights that were surrendered when the Union was constituted were surrendered irrevocably.

In distinguishing organic union from federal union,

therefore, this is the point on which we must insist. Organic union is not a matter of degree only, but of kind. It is union which may be more or less extensive but which, so far as it extends, is in its nature irrevocable, or at least is believed to be so by those who enter into it.

Applying these distinctions to the existing or proposed forms of federal union we see that a double distinction must be made: first, as to the extent of the union; second, as to its significance. What powers have the uniting bodies delegated? How far do they regard this delegation as final or revocable?

In the case of the existing Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America we see that at both these points it stops far short of organic union. The powers that are delegated are so slight that they do not seriously affect the life of the cooperating organizations. No comprehensive administrative machinery is provided; no adequate scheme of finance is undertaken. Neither in organization nor in resources is it furnished to undertake on behalf of the churches common action on a scale as imposing as was proposed by the Interchurch World Movement.

This limitation of powers, however, is not inherent in the plan of the Federal Council. It is quite conceivable that the bodies which form the Council might have decided to enlarge the powers given to their representatives, so as to enable them to do together as a Council the things that the Interchurch World Movement proposed. Had this been done, certain weaknesses in the Interchurch World Movement would have been avoided. Contact with the existing denominations would have been closer and more responsible, and while the procedure would have been slower, it is a fair question whether in the long run larger results would not have been attained. As it was, for reasons into which we need not enter here, the Interchurch World Movement developed through another center, lacked any permanent, responsible, central

executive agency, and left its relation to the existing administrative agencies of the Federal Council and other organizations undefined.

Still more noticeable is the limitation imposed upon the Federal Council by the definition of its objective. The Federal Council includes churches which look to organic union as the goal of their effort, but also churches which as at present constituted would refuse the surrender of whatever sovereignty such union would require. Hence they reserve the right to withdraw from the Federal Council whenever it shall take action they disapprove, and in at least one important case such withdrawal was only narrowly averted.

Yet it is clear that there is nothing in the idea of federal union as such which requires this double restriction. It is possible, as we have seen, to carry the delegation of powers so far as to make possible effective administrative union. It is equally possible through the experience of years of working together to acquire such a common corporate consciousness that the thought of withdrawal would seem to those who constitute the Council to involve such serious consequences for the unity of the Church as to be unthinkable. Certainly, if organic union is ever to come about, it would seem as though it could only be through some such intermediate stage.

The analogy of the Federal Government in the years immediately preceding and following the Civil War is instructive. In this case men of conflicting theories agreed upon common action and lived and suffered together, until experience finally convinced even those who had regarded the federal union as temporary and revocable that it was in truth, and of right ought to be, indissoluble.

Yet the analogy, while it shows how federal union may pass into organic union, makes clear also the reasons why so many who believe in the first are suspicious of the second. We speak of the South as convinced by

the North that the federal union of the states was irrevocable, but this was not accomplished without the experience of civil war. But to many Christians freedom is the essence of Christianity, and a union brought about from without by the force of a central authority would seem to them the negation of the ideal for which their fathers fought and died. Protestantism itself arose as a protest against such a conception of the Christian Church, and any proposal which even seems to look toward the surrender of the powers regained at the Reformation would be resented to the uttermost.

We may further illustrate the relation between federal union and organic union by the example of the "Philadelphia plan" already described. This plan retains the separate existence, organization, and rights of the uniting churches, but proposes a council representing the different uniting churches which, within certain definitely prescribed limits, shall possess powers legislative, executive, and judicial. More especially it will have power, by the consolidation of boards and the like, to create the appropriate machinery to secure effective administrative union. This is clearly federal union. Is it or is it not organic union? This depends, first, upon the nature of the powers assigned; secondly, upon the irrevocableness of the assignment. Are the churches prepared to assign to the new council so large a part of their existing powers of legislation and action that the council will henceforth be the body to which the uniting churches will feel that they owe their *major* allegiance? Secondly, will this assignment be so definite and permanent that in case the action of the new council conflicts with the preferences and habits of the individual denominations they will abide by its decisions, as the loyal states obeyed the decisions of the National Government? Or, will they count themselves primarily Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and the like, and feel free whenever they desire to withdraw from the union? If the former be true, it is clear that

we have a case of organic union; if the latter, it can be at most only a step in that direction.

From what has been said it is clear that what differentiates organic from federal union is not simply or even chiefly the nature of the action proposed, but even more the attitude of mind which accompanies such action. There is, as we have seen, in the one case a feeling of irrevocableness and inevitableness which is absent in the other.

3. *Organic Union*

If what we have said thus far be correct, it is clear that two things enter into the definition of organic union: first, the nature of the union proposed; second, the state of mind which accompanies it. Organic union is, in the first place, the corporate union of two independent and sovereign corporations in such a form that within limits agreed upon there is now but one body where formerly there were two. It is, in the second place, the acceptance of this action as final. Organic union takes place when the center of allegiance is transferred from the older bodies to the new, so that in case of a conflict between the two conscience requires that one follow the latter rather than the former.

Organic union is, in the first place, corporate union, a surrender of certain powers to a new and inclusive organization. How far must this surrender go? How much must one give up in order to bring about organic union? This is a question difficult, if not impossible, to answer apart from the considerations already referred to. One might give up for the time being all one's powers of decision and action. One might achieve complete administrative union. Yet if one retained at heart the belief that this was only temporary, and was prepared at any moment when one disliked or disapproved the action taken by the newly constituted body to take back the surrendered powers, it is clear that we would not have

organic union. On the other hand, one might retain very large powers, as the states retained such powers in the Federal Union, or as the monastic orders in the Roman Catholic Church, but if the powers conceded to the central body were recognized as of supreme importance, so that one's major allegiance was to the united Church rather than to the denominational units that compose it, organic union would have been reached.

It is clear, then, that there can be more than one kind of organic union, as there can be more than one kind of federal union. We have seen that there can be federal union which, while extensive, is not organic, because the units concerned retain all their original powers unimpaired. So there can be federal union which is organic because within the sphere affected it is irrevocable. But there may also be organic union which is not federal at all, in that it involves the complete disappearance of the original units. Organic union may be attained by the entire dissolution of the existing denominations and the fusion of their elements in one new organization of such form that the former identity of each is lost. Or it may take place through the absorption of the rest of the uniting bodies in some one of their number, which thus retains its organization and powers unimpaired. It is such a complete surrender and absorption of the existing denominational bodies in their own church which is contemplated by many high churchmen of every denomination. When they speak of organic union they mean the inclusion of all persons who desire to be recognized as Christians in a single authoritative Church. It is fear of such absorption and surrender which explains the strong opposition of powerful groups of Christians to organic union in any form. It is important, therefore, to remind ourselves that, however prominent such a conception may be made in contemporary discussion, it is but one of several possible forms of organic union and that federal union in the sense in which we have defined it may become

as truly organic in all the essential senses of that term as that proposed by the Church of Rome itself.

What is essential in the matter of organic union, we repeat, is not so much the form of organization as the attitude of mind involved. Underlying all differences of attitude toward the practical questions involved are deep-seated differences as to the conception of the Church itself. What do we mean by the Church of Christ? What is its nature and authority? Above all, what is the relation between that oneness in spirit and experience which we have agreed to call unity and the outward forms of organization to which we have reserved the term union? Are these separable or do they necessarily go together? Which is dependent upon the other? How far may spiritual unity coexist with differences of external organization? According to the way in which one answers this question will be his attitude to the question of organic union.

The importance of this psychological factor may be illustrated by recent discussions of the complete organic union which is sought by the World Conference on Faith and Order, looking toward the reunion of all Christendom. To many of those who have been active in promoting this movement the existence of more than one organized Christian Church is a contradiction of terms. They believe that it was Christ's purpose to found one visible Church. They believe that He has given to this Church a definite constitution and laws. They believe that He has endowed it with certain powers and graces. Those who are outside its protection may be very estimable people judged by the world's standard, but they lack the essential marks of the complete Christian. Much as he would desire to do so, it is impossible for the high churchman to associate with them on equal terms or recognize them as members of the visible Church of Christ.

To those who hold such a view of the Church it is clear that organic union is all-important. It is not only the

consequence but the condition of that spiritual unity on which all depends. Organic union in the sense of corporate union is necessary because without it the experience of complete fellowship in Christ is impossible.

To Christians of the independent or Congregational type, on the other hand, the matter presents itself very differently. To them the true Church is the company of the regenerate, and this already exists in the persons of living men and women. It is not coextensive with any single church or with all together, though it includes Christians in all. Those who take such a view of the Church may believe in corporate union and work for it for a variety of reasons, but it will have a very different meaning from that which it has to men of the other type. It may express an existing unity but it cannot create it, for this unity exists already and is independent of any organization. Indeed, according to this view, the effort to create an external union among Christians may defeat its own end, for no institutional boundary can correspond exactly to the requirements of spiritual geography, and the danger is that in our effort to fence good Christians in we may bar equally good Christians out. If men of this type believe in the organic union of the Church and work for it, it must be for some other reason than that spiritual unity depends upon it.

Such a reason exists in the intimate relation between form and spirit. What we are we desire to express and for expression organization is necessary. Conversely, what we do reacts upon our spirit. If in spirit the Church is one, it is natural that this inward unity should find some outward form of expression. Conversely, the failure to provide the agency for such common expression will react in division of sympathy and alienation of spirit.

What is true from the point of view of Christians themselves is even truer from the point of view of the men and women to whom Christianity brings its message. They judge spirit by act and draw conclusions accord-

ingly. If they see Christian denominations acting independently, competing for members and influence, making the individual denomination the major interest and loyalty, they will naturally conclude that Christianity is a local and parochial thing. Only a world Church can effectively embody to the world a world religion. It is this consciousness which inspires the movement for organic union in its broader and saner form.

Those who take this view will not desire to obliterate the distinction between the existing Christian churches or to unwrite their history. They recognize that the unity to be sought must be unity in variety and as variety is found among Christians in the inner spiritual life, it should reappear in the institutions of the Church. But the variety must be variety in unity. In the one case as in the other, whatever place may remain for denominational freedom and local initiative, the major loyalty must be to the Church as a whole.

What is true of organic union on the large scale as it affects Christendom as a whole is true of all its lesser and more circumscribed forms, as these affect groups of denominations of the same or closely related families. In each case two distinct factors need to be considered: the form of organization proposed and the spirit which prompts it. Only when both are present can we have union which can be said to be really organic. When the will to unite is present there may be great latitude in the forms to be followed and within the new organization lesser units, valuable in their place, may find a home.

Indeed no movement for organic union on a large scale can hope for success which is not preceded and accompanied by similar union of various branches of the uniting denominations. For each denomination is in its history and traditions almost an epitome of the Church as a whole. It includes the same contrasts in temper and spirit; the same differences in theory and conviction; the same varieties in organization and activity. Highly or-

ganized churches, like the Protestant Episcopal, are limited in their power of cooperation with other Christians by the lack of close coordination among the different dioceses. Loosely organized churches like the Baptists are hindered by the strength of their consciousness of the spiritual unity already existing. In each case there is need of a period of education and experiment, not only in understanding the point of view of other Christian bodies, but in mastering the limitations and weaknesses of one's own. This will involve, among other things, the improving of the denominational organization. Machinery must be devised through which united action can be taken when the conscience of the denomination is ready for the step. Such machinery is lacking today in most of our larger churches, or if it exists it is in forms so cumbrous as to be practically unavailable.

More important, however, is education in the realm of sentiment and feeling. Existing obstacles to union, as we have seen, are of two kinds: those which spring out of the exaggeration of the importance of external union and those which spring from its undue depreciation. Each group of extremists fears and distrusts the other, but between them they are strong enough to hamper the action of the more moderate elements which both desire union and think they see how it can be attained.

For this situation there is only one remedy and that is contact. The men who differ must get together and this contact must begin with the doing of the things as to the possibility and importance of which all agree. That there are such things experience abundantly demonstrates. All that is necessary is to recognize them, to classify them, to devise agencies for doing them, and to bring home to the consciousness of all whose cooperation is necessary the facts and the urgency of the case.

In this work of interpretation such definitions as we have attempted here have their justification and their place. In itself definition cannot take the place of action,

but it can help to make action possible by clearing away misunderstanding and pointing the way along the line of greatest present promise and least resistance. Such a line of least resistance, because of its intimate connection both with administrative union on the one hand and organic union on the other, federal union would seem to be. In this direction, then, it would seem that the next steps in the path of Christian union must be taken.

PART II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER VI

DIVISIVE AND UNITIVE FORCES IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH PRIOR TO THE AMERICAN PERIOD

I. The Apostolic Period

The early Christians were a community of men and women called of God and ruled by His Spirit. They lived in the world but were not of it. They were no longer Jews or Gentiles but Christians, representatives of the Kingdom of God. They lived in the power of a new hope, a new faith, and a new love, which grew out of a new attitude and disposition Godward, manward, and worldward begotten in them by Jesus Christ. They were known as a "brotherhood," a "fellowship," "believers," "disciples," "saints."

Each of these names signifies unity of spirit, which is symbolized in the New Testament by the family, the human body, the flock and the shepherd, the vine and the branches. It is the unity of life and of an organism; not the uniformity of law or of a mechanism.

The apostolic ideal of unity presupposes diversity. There is one body but many members.[1] There is "one God and Father of all . . . but unto each one . . . was the grace given according to the measure of the gift of Christ."[2] The diversity consisted in "gifts," "ministrations," "workings" which are "for the perfecting of the saints," for "the building up of the body of Christ."[3]

The Church was in danger of losing its unity in diversity either through uniformity or through division. Against these Paul warned the congregations. Uniformity is death to unity because it destroys diversity.

[1]Ephesians 4:4. [2]Ephesians 4:6,7. [3]Ephesians 4:11-16.

"And if they were all one member where were the body?"[4] Division is death to diversity because it destroys unity. "God tempered the body together, giving more abundant honor to that part which lacked; that there should be no schism in the body."[5]

Time came when Christian practice did not match the apostolic ideal. Some in their zeal for unity suppressed diversity and got uniformity. Others, eager to keep diversity, abandoned unity and got division. Paradoxical as it may seem, uniformity bred division and division reenforced uniformity. Catholicism and sectarianism followed in the wake of primitive Christianity. Thus the body of Christ was divided.

The Christians in Corinth were rent into factions through "jealousy and strife" about leadership in the congregation. "One of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ."[6] Preference for men in the leadership of the Church has been a divisive force from that day to this.

A more serious and far-reaching division arose in reference to the scope and the way of salvation which involved, also, the person and the work of the Saviour. There were at least three groups or parties: (a) The narrow Jewish Christians; (b) the liberal Jewish Christians; (c) the Pauline Christians. The first insisted on the necessity of law and Gospel for salvation. "Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved."[7] The second kept the law and the Gospel for the circumcision, the Jews, but recognized the adequacy of the Gospel alone for the uncircumcision, the Gentiles. "When they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision."[8] The third, led by Paul, boldly

[4]I. Corinthians 12:19. [5]I. Corinthians 12:24,25.
[6]I. Corinthians 1:12. [7]Acts 15:1. [8]Galatians 2:9.

proclaimed the sufficiency of grace for the salvation of Jew and Gentile, without the works of the law. "We being Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but only through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law."[9]

These divisions came out of different answers to two fundamental questions: What must I do to be saved? and What think ye of Christ? The different answers resulted in corresponding parties, often in bitter controversy with one another. For in their own way, in the light of their heritage and surroundings, Christians had to turn their religious experience into doctrines and work out their lives through organizations. The differences in definitions and in institutions were largely determined by such varying factors as the genius of the nation, the character of civilization, the nature of political, social, and religious ideas, the degrees of culture, the influence of theological and ecclesiastical leaders, and the temperaments of individuals and groups.

Thus the same Gospel originally proclaimed in Palestine, and later borne to Syria, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and North Africa, was interpreted not only in different tongues but in different doctrines and wrought out in different institutions. And the same factors and forces which divided the Christians in the beginning have continued to operate in various lands and times to the present day.

In the second century an attempt was made to adjust the Gospel to the religious and philosophical ideas of the pagan world—Syrian, Greek, and Roman. This resulted in a number of gnostic sects, each with a leader, a doctrine, and an association of its own. Notable among them were the Cerinthians, the Basilidians, the Saturninians, and the Valentinians. The simplicity of the religion

[9] Galatians 2: 15, 16.

of Jesus and Paul was jeopardized by confusion with the myths, mysteries, laws, and philosophies of Babylonians and Syrians, Jews and Egyptians, Greeks and Romans.

To offset gnosticism and to preserve the purity of original Christianity, Marcion proposed a restoration of the Pauline doctrine of salvation by grace alone. But he was, in other respects, too much like the gnostics to furnish an antidote to counteract the disease. Marcionism, however, became a distinct sect and flourished for at least a century.

The Phrygian Montanus led a puritan reaction toward primitive charismatic Christianity against the growing worldliness of the Church, and raised a democratic protest against the assumptions of episcopal authority. In vain did he attempt to revive the prophetic gifts, the advent hopes, and the moral purity of apostolic days. Montanism could neither cure the Church of gnosticism nor save it from Catholicism, because it was shot through with errors in doctrine and excesses in practice and ran counter to the process of historical development, which could be stayed neither by protest nor by reaction.

The only way of saving Christianity from submergence under the flood of paganism surging without and from disintegration through heresy and schism arising within, was by a consolidation of the Christian congregations scattered throughout the Roman Empire into a single organization with tangible standards and tests. While gnostic, Marcionite, and Montanist appealed to apostolic tradition in vindication of their views, the more moderate congregations, in self-defense, were driven to define the authoritative norms of the Church of the apostles. These were the Rule of Faith, the Canon of the New Testament, and the Episcopal Office. They were more the product of the common will than of the conscious volition of separate individuals. Yet towering persons were not wanting who with zeal and energy labored to establish

the new criteria of Catholicism—Polycarp of Smyrna († 156), Justin Martyr († 165), Hegesippus (visited Rome 160), Dionysius of Corinth (c. 170), Irenaeus (†202). The rise and general acceptance of the three norms, about 180 A. D., marks the completion of the foundations of the Catholic Church. It claimed to be both apostolic and orthodox, the divinely authorized guardian of grace and truth.

The divisive factors and forces of the first two centuries of Christianity may be summarized as follows:

1. The liberation of the individual and the group by the Spirit of the Lord from bondage to the prevailing legalism in religious thought and practice.

2. The rise and leadership of dominant persons who attracted followers into competitive and hostile parties.

3. Different interpretations of the way of salvation and of the scope of work, purpose, and person of the Saviour.

4. Earnest but often erroneous attempts to adjust the Gospel to the religious and moral ideas of the nations, Jew and Gentile.

5. Persons and groups, through protest and reaction, seeking to save original Christianity from modification and corruption.

The unitive tendencies during the same period were:

1. The possession of a common Spirit including one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all who is over all and through all and in all.

2. The sense of fellowship in a common life and purpose, sharing in the work of faith, in labor of love, and in patience of hope. "Between the congregations there was a constant exchange of guests, of missionaries, of aids, of counsels, of edification, of affectionate control."[10]

3. The growing feeling of distinctness from Jew and Gentile. "Bound together into a new people in Jesus Christ, their head, they were filled with the high consciousness that Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbari-

[10]Battifol, "Primitive Christianity," p. 32.

ans would through them become one, and that the last and highest stage in the history of humanity had thus been reached."[11]

4. The gradual emergence, from the rudimentary, undefined, and unorganized stage of primitive Christianity, of a legally defined, organized, and official institution, with divine sanctions, both for defense against sect and schism and for aggressive advance in the world.

II. The Catholic Period

The establishment of One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church made it easy to separate "true" from "false" Christianity. Heresy and schism stood out in bold relief against the fixed standards of the Church. While Catholicism was intended to suppress diversity, it failed to maintain unity. For strong-minded men dissented to the breaking point from its despotism and its dogmatism. Sects ran parallel with Catholicism from the Fathers to the Reformers. They gathered strength under the more rigorous Hildebrandian uniformity until the protest of the sixteenth century divided the Church of the West.

As in the apostolic, so in the Catholic period, the primary cause of heresy was the doctrine of the person of Christ and of the nature of the Godhead, vitally related to the conception of salvation. Arianism sprang up in the Orient from Greek soil. It was controverted by Athanasius and condemned by the Council of Nicea. It ended in a schism which ran its course in the sixth century.

The Christological heresies grew out of attempts to define the relation between the divine and the human in Jesus. For centuries the Church was shaken and shattered by bitter controversies with Eutychians, Nestorians, Monothelites, and Monophysites. Each of these parties was put under the ban by Catholic councils which raised

[11] Harnack, "What Is Christianity?" p. 189.

the Creed of Nicea and of Chalcedon as standards of infallible orthodoxy. Two of the heresies, the Nestorian and the Monophysite, have been perpetuated in the East as separate churches to the present time. They are in no closer communion with the Orthodox Church than with the Roman Catholics or the Protestants. They do not even recognize one another, each professing to be the only true Church of Christ.

The schisms from the third to the sixth century came out of efforts to maintain the original purity of the congregations by rigorous discipline; to preserve the primitive democracy of the believers against the growing authority of the bishops; to continue the leadership of charismatic persons in place of chosen officers; to safeguard the holiness of the Church, jeopardized by an easy restoration of those who were guilty of mortal sin or who betrayed their faith under persecution; to deny the validity of sacramental acts performed by priests or bishops who were classed as apostates or lapsed. Some of the leaders of the more notable schisms in this period were Hippolytus, Felicissimus, Novatus, Meletius, and Donatus. They and their followers were either brought back into the Catholic Church or ruthlessly exiled, imprisoned, or slain. As a rule, in the course of a century after their origin they disappeared from history.

The division of Catholicism into Orthodox and Roman, commonly known as Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic, was most far-reaching in its effects on the future history of Christianity. The breach became fixed and final in the eleventh century (1054), but was in process of preparation for a thousand years. Among the divisive forces were personal quarrels between the patriarchs of Rome and of Constantinople and disagreement on a subtle point in the definition of the relation of the three persons in the Godhead; but the ultimate causes were far deeper than personal ambition or doctrinal distinctions. Deep, internal, slowly moving, gigantic forces operated for

centuries and worked with the inevitability of fate. We have space only to summarize these factors:

a. Difference in race and genius of Greeks and Romans, Orientals and Occidentals. They dwelt in different lands, developed a different spirit, and spoke a different language. Each received into itself different alien elements. The Greeks blended with Slav, Syrian, Egyptian, and other Eastern nations. The Latins mixed with Celts, Goths, and Teutons. Withal the more cultured Greek harbored an age-long scorn for the more barbarous Roman.

b. The political division of the ancient Roman Empire into an Eastern and a Western half. This naturally widened the breach between the churches of each division.

c. The rivalry between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, each claiming supremacy over the Church as a whole.

d. The acceptance of the term *filioque* in the West and its rejection in the East.

e. The omission of rites and ceremonies by the Roman Church which were considered essential by the Greek Church. In an encyclical of the Patriarch Photius (866) the errors of the Romans were enumerated as follows: (1) Saturday fasting; (2) the confirmation of the baptized by the Bishop only; (3) priestly celibacy; (4) the *filioque*.

In 1054 Pope Leo IX and the Patriarch Cerularius mutually excommunicated each other. The papal legates laid upon the altar of St. Sophia a document denouncing eleven erroneous doctrines and practices of the Eastern Church with the following imprecation upon Cerularius and his followers:

"Let them be anathema Maranatha, with Simoniacs, Valerians, Arians, Donatists, Nicolaitans, Severians, Pneumatomachi, Manichees, and Nazarenes, and with all heretics; yea, with the devil and his angels. Amen, Amen, Amen."

It is needless to say that the schism between the East and the West was now consummated.

In vain have been the attempts to reunite the two churches. Under the stress of political necessity, when the Eastern Empire was hard-pressed by the Turks, a conciliatory spirit was shown by the East. Representatives of the two churches met in the Council of Lyons (1274) and in the second Council of Florence (1439). Although each council adopted a concordat, the actual union was defeated because there was no change of heart in either church and political necessity alone was not sufficient to drive men into ecclesiastical union.

Even Protestants have made advances to the Orthodox Church in the hope of cultivating friendly relations, if not of attaining organic or federal union. Among these efforts the most noteworthy were (a) the correspondence of theologians of Tübingen (1576) with the ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II; (b) the letters exchanged between Cyrill Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria (1602), and Archbishop Laud; (c) the English Non-Jurors in open correspondence with the Eastern Patriarch through Peter the Great (1717). But all of these approaches proved abortive. The Old Catholics, who seceded from Rome after the Vatican Council (1870), held two conferences at Bonn (1874 and 1875) in which representatives of the Old Catholic, the Anglicans, the Orthodox Catholics of the East, the Lutherans, and the Reformed were present. The purpose, in the words of Döllinger, was "to find out to what extent there could be a friendly and peaceful approach and a mutual recognition between them; and how differences in doctrine and practice might be reconciled by interpretation and by concessions." The conferences, however, were fruitless.

In the West the Medieval Catholic Church, notwithstanding the rise of the Holy Roman Empire, could not suppress dissent and schism. In the second half of the eleventh century heretical movements appeared in

Milan, Orleans, Strassburg, and Cologne. These grew in power in the twelfth century and spread so widely that the Church turned to measures of forcible suppression.

An intolerant and colorless uniformity was bound to provoke protest and to breed division. The people themselves became dissatisfied with the barren formalism, the arrogant tyranny, and the flagrant immorality of prelates, priests, and monks. Their hearts longed for the simplicity of the Gospel and the purity of the apostolic life. They cried out for the living God and were weary of ordinances and ceremonies. They nurtured their souls with the Bible, to which at least some of the more intelligent laymen began to have access. The thriving burgers, prosperous and successful merchants, and bankers developed a spirit of independence which could not be held in check by ecclesiastical canons. The more lively intercourse between men and nations of the East and the West, brought about by the Crusades and by commerce, quickened the minds of men and inspired courage to protest against an order of life which ignored the right of the individual and demanded unconditional surrender to authority. These conditions and tendencies prepared the way for the medieval sects, some of which were the precursors of the Reformation.

The most prominent among them were the Albigenses and the Waldenses in the twelfth century and the Wycliffites and Hussites in the fourteenth century. We must not forget, however, that there are extant lists of as many as nineteen, seventy-two, and even one hundred and thirty heresies in this period. The Church dealt harshly with them and used fire and sword to destroy them. The Waldensians are still to be found in Italy and the Moravians trace their lineage to the Hussites of Bohemia.

When we survey the first fifteen centuries of Christianity we see clearly that church unity was an ideal which was never actualized. The theory of unity in diversity in the New Testament never became a fact.

In the first five centuries ancient Catholicism was in control of the field, but there were vast multitudes who called themselves Christians that disputed the claims of the dominant church, and dwelt apart in conventicles of their own. In the Middle Ages Catholicism itself was divided into two sections, each about equal in geographical extent and numerical strength. In the territory of each section there were separate churches which refused to recognize the claims of Greek or of Roman Catholicism. The popular view, therefore, that before the Reformation all Christians were united in one holy Catholic Church is a fiction that cannot be sustained by historical facts. Church unity is a hope to be fulfilled in the future, not an achievement that has been lost in the past.

III. The Protestant Period

The Reformation freed the individual and the group from the age-long domination of Roman Catholicism. The newly acquired right of private judgment and the exclusive authority of the Scriptures in faith and practice lent themselves to interpretations of the Gospel differing so widely that numerous divisions were inevitable.

The original Reformers, Luther and Zwingli, agreed in their protests against Rome, but they differed in their affirmations on the teachings of the New Testament. The result was a division of Protestantism on the Continent into two branches — the Lutheran and the Reformed. Men of radical views followed in the wake of the conservative reformers and insisted on a reformation of the Reformation, a more thorough-going reconstruction of the Church than either Luther or Zwingli desired. Thus there were three types of reform on the Continent —the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Radicals, including the Anabaptists, the Socinians, and the Mystics. Two churches of the radical sort were organized and exist

today—the Mennonites and the Schwenkfelders. The Socinians were the forerunners of the Unitarians, and the Anabaptists, as the name implies, of the Baptists.

On the Continent three churches were "by law established," the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Roman Catholic. The other churches were considered dissenting sects which were tolerated or, if the civil authorities were so disposed, were liable to be harassed to the point of exile or death.

The English Reformation had a character of its own. The churches that came out of it were the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Congregational, the Baptist, and the Quakers. Episcopacy became the Church of England, Catholics and Puritans were classed as dissenters. They frequently suffered the civil penalties of nonconformity. Only after more than a century of conflict, including civil war, was legal toleration granted (1688) to the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Quakers. In the eighteenth century the rise and spread of Pietism in Germany and of Evangelicalism in Britain resulted in the organization of the Moravians and the Methodists. Both churches were active in missionary work and since 1840 have played an important role in American Christianity.

The divisive forces in Protestantism may be summarized as follows: Differences in nationality, in the genius and temper of the Reformers, in the interpretation of the Gospel depending upon religious experience, education, and social condition, in theological formulas and church polities wrought out in the heat of controversy, in the attitude toward the historic Church, the authority of its doctrines and ordinances, one class seeking merely reform of the old Church, the other demanding a new Church beginning with re-baptism or with a covenant, and conforming in everything to the New Testament. Add to these forces the privilege of every believer to read and interpret the Bible for himself and the irre-

pressible conviction that loyalty to the truth could be maintained in many instances only by separation from the existing church and by the organization of an independent sect.

The sects in Europe were bodies of Christians not "by law established." They differed in form and spirit from the state churches. They were essentially biblical and individualistic. Their biblicity appeared in the strict conformity of life to the letter of the Scriptures, their antipathy to historical creeds, and their stubborn disavowal of compromise with the world. In daily living, in their relation to the State, society, riches, pleasures, and to one another, the sects were controlled by the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, by the communism of the Acts, by the freedom of the spirit taught by Paul, and by the advent hopes and other-worldliness of the early Christians. They rejected with more or less consistency whatever was not commanded in the Bible and felt more keenly than the conservative Reformers the difference between the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world. To be at peace with the world was to be at war with God. Their individualism was evident in their claim to immediate personal illumination of the Spirit, in the layman's right to interpret the Scriptures, in the opposition to official and confessional control of thought and action, and in the persistent demand for holiness of person and life instead of holiness of institution and sacrament.

The nobler spirits of the age deplored sect and schism as both unprofitable and unchristian. The gains of Protestantism were not without serious losses. For diversity and freedom men paid the price of sectarian warfare, Catholic against Evangelical, Lutheran against Calvinist, Anglican against Puritan, conformist against dissenter. For deliverance from paralyzing Catholic uniformity, men paid the price of the loss of collective action and cooperation. For freedom from external authority,

from the grip of the dead hand, they paid the price of the excesses and follies of private judgment running into autocracy or anarchy. Attempts were made in the first decades of the Reformation to heal the schism in the Church before it became hopelessly fixed.

The Diet of Augsburg (1530) was called in the hope of "restoring the unity of the holy empire of the German nation in the one true Christian religion and church." Melancthon wrote the Augsburg Confession in terms so irenical that the Catholics were surprised at its moderation. The doctrinal articles close with the following declaration: "This is the sum of doctrine among us, in which can be seen nothing which is discrepant with Scripture, nor with Catholic, or even with the Roman Church, so far as that Church is known from the writings of the Fathers." Melancthon and the Lutherans, however, learned to their sorrow that the Catholics would grant no concession and would listen to nothing but absolute submission. The Augsburg Confession became the doctrinal standard of the Lutherans and served to fix definitely and finally the breach between Catholics and Protestants.

In 1541 a colloquy of Catholics and Protestants was held at Regensburg at the instance of the Emperor. The papal legate Contarini was in a conciliatory mood and Melancthon, as always, was ready to make concessions. They prepared the Interim of Regensburg as a basis of reconciliation. But Luther's inflexible attitude and the negative vote of the Diet of Regensburg in 1546 defeated it. Equally fruitless were the Interims of Augsburg and Leipzig in 1548. The concessions made by Melancthon in the latter in regard to Catholic ritual, polity, and doctrine failed to conciliate the Catholics and precipitated the adiaphoristic and synergistic controversies among the Lutherans.

The Queen Regent of France, Catharine de Medici, recommended to the Pope (1561) that he effect a recon-

ciliation between Catholics and Protestants by correcting abuses and simplifying the doctrines of the Catholic Church. A similar proposition was laid before the Council of Trent by the Emperor Ferdinand. Though neither Pope nor council took any cognizance of these proposals, three Catholic theologians, Frederick Staphylus, George Wicel, and George Cassander, drew up a comprehensive statement in order to bring about the desired union, at least in lands ruled by the Emperor. The latter's death in 1564 ended further negotiations. The propositions of Cassander and his colleagues are considered especially noteworthy because they propose union between Catholics and Protestants by a return to the original simplicity of the New Testament.

The codification of Catholic doctrine and law in the Council of Trent necessarily ended further efforts at union with the Protestants. All colloquies held or proposals made after this were merely unsuccessful attempts to convince Protestants of the error of their ways and to lure them back into the Catholic fold.

Conferences of this sort were held in Germany at Baden in 1589, at Emmendingen in 1590, and at Regensburg in 1601; in France at Nimes in 1599 and at Fontainebleau in 1600. Bishop Spinola (c. 1676) tried to win the Lutherans for Rome. Correspondence for the same purpose was conducted between Bossuet and Leibnitz (1699-1701). Archbishop Wake of Canterbury and certain Gallican theologians (from 1716), also, exchanged letters, prompted by the desire of the Gallicans to enlist the support of the English Church, through its return to the Roman, in their defense of national liberties. But the Archbishop refused to lend himself to their proposal.

The Reformers felt as keenly the losses incurred through the divisions in Protestantism as the disadvantages of separation from Catholicism. For schism begot intolerance, hatred, and persecution. It brought reproach upon the evangelical cause and weakened its forces both

for defense and attack. Calvin in his reply to Cranmer (1552) described the situation in general when he wrote: "But this also is to be reckoned among the greatest evils of our time, that the churches are so estranged from each other that scarcely the common intercourse of society has place among them; much less that holy communion of the members of Christ which all persons profess with their lips, though few sincerely honor it in their practice."

The first effort at union, or at preventing division, between the Protestants was made by Philip of Hesse. He was moved as much by political as by religious reasons. For, as a statesman, he felt the necessity of a united Protestantism both to maintain its ground against the secret and open attacks of Romanism and to gain new territory. He invited Luther and Zwingli to a colloquy at Marburg in 1529. The failure of the Reformers to come to an agreement on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is too well known to need more than mention. When they left Marburg, each going his own way, the division of the Evangelicals into two churches was an inevitable consequence.

The Wittenberg Concord, effected through the mediation of Martin Bucer in 1536, seemed for the time to have satisfied the Swiss and the Germans. But it proved only a temporary armistice, which was made void by the rigid attitude of Luther and his associates at Wittenberg. After Luther's death (1546) the irenic Melancthon became leader of a movement which is known as Philippism. It was a well-meant effort to unite the Lutherans and Calvinists by modifying the article in the Augsburg Confession on the Lord's Supper, so as to enable Calvin himself to sign it in its modified form. The Philippists, however, aroused the ire of the rigorous Lutherans and were considered traitors to their cause. The ripe fruit of the Melancthonian, Zwinglian, and Calvinistic tendencies was the Heidelberg Catechism, a blend of the three and a means of uniting the diverse and belligerent

Protestant groups in the Palatinate. The Catechism, with its irenic spirit, became both the book of instruction and the confession of faith of the German Reformed Church.

Under the influence of the Philippism of Wittenberg, the Polish Lutherans entered into union with the Reformed and the Moravians at Sendomir in 1570. But after the ultra-Lutheran party in Germany came into control, through the general adoption of the Formula of Concord, the Polish union was dissolved by instigation from German sources.

At the opening of the seventeenth century the Melancthonian spirit revived in Calixtus, a professor at Helmstadt (1614). While he professed to be a loyal Lutheran, he none the less believed that the doctrines necessary for salvation were found in all the churches, Catholic and Protestant. He concluded that essentials were summarized in the Apostles' Creed and proposed it as a basis of union for all churches. His liberality found no favor with the Lutheran dogmaticians. Instead of working peace and harmony, he provoked discord and strife.

In 1630 Rupertus Meldenius, a German Lutheran theologian, published a book on the peace of the church. It has become historical for no other reason than that it contains the sentence now universally quoted by ecclesiastical pacificators: "In necessary things unity, in unnecessary things liberty, in all things love." (*In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*)

About this time the King of Poland invited Catholic and Protestant divines to meet in friendly conference at Thorn (1645), in the hope that mutual acquaintance would mitigate differences and promote agreement. Representatives of the Lutherans and Calvinists accepted the royal invitation. The latter proposed to the former that, in the presence of a common foe, each should sink his differences and unite in one communion. But the Lu-

therans could not be induced to listen even to a temporary truce. At the request of the Great Elector, William of Brandenburg, Calixtus appeared in the conference, but the Lutherans repudiated him and he was driven to join the Reformed.

The last and the most successful effort at church union in Germany was the constitution of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia by Frederick William III in 1817, on the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. The Lutherans and the Reformed united in one body in Prussia and in other German provinces. But there was a dissenting remnant of both confessions which refused to enter the union and continued independent organizations.

The union movements in Germany were paralleled in one form or another in other lands. Zwingli of Zurich was not disposed to permit doctrinal differences to interfere with the fellowship of believers. His hand, extended to Luther at Marburg, symbolized his attitude and that of the Reformed Churches toward other communions. They assumed that in things essential the Lutherans and the Reformed were sufficiently agreed to permit mutual tolerance and to make common cause against the Catholics. This relation Zwingli was the first to designate as "Syncretism." The Lutherans, however, were repelled by the Zwinglian hand and were disposed to consider the doctrines of the Reformed Church as an obstacle rather than a help to salvation, a disposition which was nurtured and strengthened by the victory of the Formula of Concord and conservative Lutheranism.

In the first generation of the Reformation the Swiss were divided into Zwinglians and Calvinists. Their differences were reconciled in the Consensus Tigurinus of 1549, in which Calvin of Geneva and Bullinger of Zurich came to agreement on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. While not all of the Reformed cantons, as for example Berne, accepted the formula, the Consensus was hailed as

a victory for union by Bucer, Lasco, and other evangelical leaders.

In the seventeenth century John Henry Heidegger (b. 1633), a Swiss theologian, showed marked tolerance toward the Lutherans and with fervent enthusiasm worked for the union of the two churches. In the same spirit Samuel Werenfels (1675-1740), professor of theology at Basle, advocated the union of Protestants and, if possible, the reunion of Catholics and Protestants. In his preaching he put all the emphasis on those truths of the Gospel upon which Christians of all ages were agreed and which served to edify and comfort men in daily life. He deprecated theological controversy because it spread the spirit of bitterness among Christians and usually ended in strife and division. Others of the same type in Switzerland were Friederich Osterwald of Neuenberg (1633-1747) and Alphons Turretin (1671-1737).

The Protestants in France were comparatively few in number, and yet they played no small role in the history of evangelical Christianity. They, through the influence of Calvin and Geneva, were prevailingly Reformed but always made friendly advances toward the Lutherans. The National Synod at Gap (1603) expressed the desire for a conference on church union between the churches of all lands and resolved to write, with this end in view, to the orthodox universities in Germany, England, Scotland, and Geneva. They received approving replies, but there the matter ended. The Synod of Tonneins, 1614, proposed a new plan of union, which the Synod of Vitré, 1617, undertook to perfect through a commission. The outbreak of the Arminian controversy brought this effort to an end.

An historic letter in the cause of union came from Archbishop Cranmer, dated March 20, 1552, and addressed to John Calvin of Geneva. He urged Calvin, Melancthon, and Bullinger "to deliberate among yourselves as to the means by which this synod can be assem-

bled with the greatest convenience." The purpose of the synod was for "learned and godly men" to come to agreement on the doctrines of Christianity. Calvin, in his reply to Cranmer, expressed hearty sympathy with his proposal, saying: "As far as I am concerned if I can be of any service, I shall not shrink from crossing ten seas, if need be, for that object." Cranmer's project, however, never reached beyond the stage of a devout wish and an interesting exchange of letters between the Protestant Fathers.

In the following century the Englishman John Davenentius (1642) pleaded "for a restoration of fraternal communion between evangelical churches, based on the fact that they do not differ on any fundamental article of the Catholic faith." Another prophet of church union came from Scotland and preached in the English church at Elbingen, Germany. He was John Dury (Duraeus), a Scotch Presbyterian minister. Through his personal experience and studies he concluded that the differences between the churches were not of primary significance and that Christian fellowship is not to be based on theological doctrines, but on worship and life in spirit and in truth. In all churches he recognized worthy and unworthy members. For fifty years he traveled over the Continent, exhorting men to think more of their common faith in Christ than of their differences in opinion. He wrote letters and books and held conferences with many leaders of the churches, but the death of his chief patron, Gustavus Adolphus, cut short further developments. He wrote with a touch of sadness before he died at Cassel (1680): "The only fruit which I have reaped from all my toils is that I see the miserable condition of Christianity and that I have no other comfort than the testimony of my conscience."

Among the witnesses to the same cause by word and pen in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Richard Baxter, John Milton, Jeremy Taylor,

Edward Stillingfleet, John Owen, William Chillingworth, and Robert Hall. As there were reformers before the Reformation, so these men may have been unionists before the union.

The Pietist, in shifting emphasis from dogma to the experience of conversion and union with Christ through faith, furnished a new basis for the fellowship of Christians. Zinzendorf put into practice the precepts of Spener. Three families from Moravia led by Christian David (1722), were given asylum on the Count's estates near Berthelsdorf. Here men of various creeds settled and called the hill upon which they located Herrnhut. In 1727 Zinzendorf succeeded in inducing Moravians, Lutherans, and Reformed to unite in the Lord's Supper, notwithstanding their doctrinal differences. The ground of fellowship was living union with the Saviour and consecration to His word. The new community was appropriately called *Unitas fratrum,* the unity of brethren; and its influence for the closer relation of churches has been felt throughout the world.

IV. Bearing on the Present Situation

From this rapid survey of the history of church union since the Reformation certain inferences as to motives and methods may safely be made.

The motives for union were: (1) The securing of the unity of the Church; (2) defense against Roman Catholicism and against rationalism; (3) the maintenance of religious uniformity in the interest of civil and political peace in European states; (4) the furthering of harmony and brotherhood among Christians of different persuasions.

Appeals for the union of churches to hasten the evangelization of the world or to avoid the waste of men and money through the overlapping of denominational work are not heard before the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The various methods for effecting union were: (1) The calling of a council of representatives of the churches to come to an agreement on a common doctrinal basis; (2) the action of the civil authority, prince, king, or parliament, ordering a union of different Christian groups in a province; (3) differentiating the essentials from the non-essentials and stressing the things held in common by all rather than the things that are distinctive of each; (4) shifting emphasis from dogma and institution as tests of fellowship to religious experience, the experience of conversion, and of union with Christ; (5) toleration rooted in religious indifference which considered all churches equally good and equally bad. This was the way of many of the rationalists. Frederick the Great held that each one should have the privilege of going to heaven in his own way.

Specific kinds of closer relation between the churches such as alliance, council, federation were not considered before the second half of the last century. Only corporate union was then thought of. Nor was the dissenting sect recognized in councils and colloquies in the interest of church union.

This general view of the history of the Church makes it clear that there has been a gradual change of attitude from hostile competition to friendly recognition, from sectarian intolerance to denominational alliance or federation.

It would also seem clear that so long as rigidly interpreted dogmas and unchanging institutions are the chief criteria of the true Church and the test of fellowship, the divisions of Catholicism and of Protestantism must continue. For no church, accepting these premises, can consistently enter upon negotiations for union save for the purpose of converting the other churches to its specific faith and order. But a conception of Christianity which regards it as primarily a new life in men, begotten by the Spirit of Christ through His Word and His Church, rec-

ognizes the validity of the varying forms of Christian experience in which the one Spirit finds expression.

This new life will naturally be embodied in intellectual, moral, political, and social forms, which will vary in different ages and lands and groups. While there is unity of spirit and life, there must also be diversity of form and operation. Religious experience will differ as the Oriental mind differs from the Occidental, the Jewish from the Greek, the Latin from the Teutonic, the ancient from the modern. The modes of worship will vary as much as the degrees of culture and the temperaments of groups. Church polity may be episcopal or congregational and yet each is *jure divino,* providing it serves to establish the Kingdom of God in men and in nations.

The forms of Christianity not only differ but they are subject to change—the change which all organisms undergo in the process of growth and in adjustment to their surroundings. Divisions and sects that at one stage were an historical necessity may thus be outgrown. By historical development, then, we may realize the unity in diversity which other days have seen in vision but never reached in fact. Catholic uniformity will pass away and Christian unity will take its place. Protestant divisions will be abolished and Christian diversity come instead. There will be one body with many members, unity of spirit with diversity of operations.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DENOMINATIONS IN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

When the territory of the United States was occupied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by pioneers of different nations and denominations of Europe, the church, or churches, of each country followed its flag. The seafaring and colonizing powers then were Spain and France, Roman Catholic lands; England, Holland, and Sweden, Protestant lands.

The southern border of the United States was traversed and settled by the Spaniards, whose towns and missions under the oversight of Franciscan monks extended from Florida to California. In the seventeenth century there were fifty missions in ninety pueblo towns of New Mexico and Arizona alone.

The French explorers and missionaries of the Jesuit Order established trading posts and missions from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico by way of the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River. French statesmen dreamed dreams and saw visions of a colossal empire in the West. Mr. Bancroft reminds us that if by 1750 the continent had been divided into twenty-five equal parts, the French would have claimed twenty, the Spaniards four, and the English one. About the middle of the eighteenth century a prophet could have predicted without contradiction that the destiny of the Western world north of the Gulf of Mexico would be at the disposal of the King of France and the Pope of Rome. But by 1763, when the Treaty of Paris was signed, the French territory, from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, and the Spanish territory

of Florida were transferred to the English crown. North America then passed from Romance to Anglo-Saxon, and from Catholic to Protestant, control.

The Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida was settled largely by the English. The Dutch on the Hudson and the Swedes on the Delaware laid foundations of colonies, but England took possession and built upon them. Each nation, and the different groups of each, brought with them and perpetuated in the New World the religious divisions of the Old. From Great Britain came the Roman Catholics, the Episcopalians, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Quakers, and, in the eighteenth century, the Methodists. From Holland came the Dutch Reformed and from Sweden the Swedish Lutherans. From Germany came the German Lutherans, the German Reformed, the Mennonites, the Schwenckfelders, and, in the eighteenth century, the Dunkards and the Moravians. The Reformed churches of Switzerland and France sent not a few pioneers who found a home in English colonies, but instead of establishing Swiss or French churches in America they united with churches of the Reformed faith.

The Church of England, till the Revolution, remained the undisputed state church of New York and the southern colonies. The churches of "the standing order" in New England were congregational in polity and Calvinistic in doctrine. In Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey there was no church "by law established," but each communion was given freedom to abide by its own faith and order. In New England the churches not of the congregational type and in New York and the South the non-episcopal churches were in the sight of the law dissenters and nonconformists. In Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in the absence of an established church, the distinction between conformity and dissent lost its point. These colonies, accordingly, from the beginning were in a position to practice religious toleration

to an extent not possible in the other colonies of New England or the South.

While the original churches on American soil were in their belief and practice European churches transplanted, they were none the less in a new land and clime, under new social and political conditions, which in time were bound to work a variation of type and to produce a distinctively American Christianity. For our purpose we shall consider the relation of the churches to their new surroundings, their attitude toward one another, the divisive and unitive factors and forces, the actual divisions in the denominations, and the attempts both to heal schisms and to unite churches.

I. The Influence of the New Surroundings on the Churches

The original differences between the churches in Europe were not at once abolished in the colonies. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers conformed as rigidly to type in America as in Europe. Their mutual suspicions and prejudices did not die out in the voyage across the Atlantic, nor were memories at once blotted out in the wilderness. There was no oneness either in jurisdiction or in confederation, as in the political sphere, nor even by diplomatic recognition or correspondence.

Tendencies like the following worked for disunion:

1. Freedom from the coercion of civil authority, and the independence which always goes with pioneering, reenforced the determination of each group to teach its own doctrine and to worship in its own way.

2. In America there were no age-long traditions, no princes and no prelates, no canons and no customs to act as deterrents on religious individualism and sectarianism. In Europe the tradition of Church and State had a restraining influence on the Protestant founders and followers. They were hampered in the consistent applica-

tion of their ideals in cultus, polity, and piety, if not in doctrine. The divisive tendencies, strong as they were, were held in check by the grip of the dead hand. Only in the New World was it possible in the course of three centuries for more than one hundred and fifty independent churches, larger and smaller, to arise and win support.

3. The forcible establishment of the English state church in several colonies and of the churches of "the standing order" in New England naturally provoked sect and schism, as did similar procedure in Europe.

Yet after all the factors favoring division have been mentioned, one cannot fail to discern that there were counteracting forces working for closer relations among the churches, which would not have been possible in Europe.

1. With their differences in polity and cultus, there was a marked agreement in fundamental doctrines. They were at one on the Trinity, the Person of Christ, total depravity, expiatory atonement, justification by grace, the authority of the Bible, and, as a rule, on an educated ministry.

2. They were all pioneers in a wilderness with common dangers, sorrows, tasks. The struggle for existence often compelled them to unite in one way or another. They felt the responsibility of Christianizing a people rapidly extending the border from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. For the immigrant, moving westward, they built churches, opened schools, erected benevolent institutions, and conducted missions. All of them were convinced that the destiny of the country was inseparably bound up with the spread of the Gospel. An unconscious growth of a common type of religious life followed the common experience in subduing a new country.

3. Even the existence of multitudinous sects had its compensations. The law granted them equal rights, an equality which engendered mutual tolerance and regard.

"The habit of respecting one another's rights cherishes a feeling of mutual respect and courtesy. If, on the one hand, the spirit of independence fosters individualism, on the other it favors good fellowship. All sects are equal before the law. Hence one great cause of jealousy and distrust is removed; and though at times sectarian zeal may lead to rivalries and controversies unfavorable to unity, on the other hand the independence and the equality of the churches favor their voluntary cooperation."[1]

4. The Great Awakening of 1740 deepened divisions, and yet aroused the consciousness of a national religious unity. Whitefield became a messenger of mutual fellowship between the colonies. "Churches far apart exchanged offices of service. Tennent came from New Jersey to labor in New England; Dickinson, Burr, and Edwards were the gifts of the northern colonies to the college at Princeton. The quickened sense of a common religious life and duty and destiny was no small part of the preparation for the birth of the future nation."

Thus without conscious effort and by gradual process American Christianity wrought out of its common experience in a new environment and in an original form certain distinctive principles which were recognized for the first time in any land by all the churches. They were: (a) separation of Church and State; (b) equality of the churches; (c) religious toleration; (d) voluntary support of the churches by their constituents. The first amendment to the Constitution codified a new national and ecclesiastical ideal. It forbids Congress to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The almost paradoxical influence of religious freedom for Christian unity was defined in prophetic words by John Robinson. The Pilgrims reported that he said

[1] J. P. Thompson, "Church and State in the United States," pp. 98-99.

to them that "many of those who both wrote and preached against them would practice as they [the Pilgrims] did if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live conformably." "And so," says Edward Winslow, "he advised us to close with the godly party of the Kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz:—how near we might possibly without sin close with them rather than in the least manner to effect division or separation from them."[2]

II. The Attitude of the Churches toward One Another in the Colonial Period

The prophecy and the precept of John Robinson were fulfilled when the Pilgrims at Plymouth agreed with the Puritans at Salem upon a new form of church organization, the first instance of church union in America.

The Puritans when they left England disavowed separation from the English Church, but sought to "separate from the corruptions in it." "We go," said Mr. Higginson, "to practice the positive part of church reformation and to propagate the Gospel in America." But after their settlement at Salem two questions confronted them, their relation to the Church of England and their relation to the church at Plymouth.

As to the former, it was generally conceded that for the new commonwealth which they were erecting in the wilderness they needed also a new church. For they no longer considered themselves a branch of the English Church. Following the New Testament, they concluded it to be "necessary for those who intended to be of the Church solemnly to enter into a covenant engagement one with another, in the presence of God, to walk together before Him according to His word." Suiting their action to the word, thirty persons entered into covenant relations and founded the first American church. They

[2] Leonard Bacon, "American Christianity," p. 93.

proceeded also to choose new ministers. For in their view the ministry of the Church of England had no authority in the church of God at Salem. Two recognized candidates were elected and solemnly inducted into office with prayer and the laying on of hands.

Before the services of the day were concluded, Governor Bradford arrived from Plymouth and in the public assembly in the name of the Pilgrims he gave his "approbation and concurrence," extending the right hand of fellowship to the first-born church in America. Thus they separated from the Church of England and united with the church at Plymouth. The union was based on mutual concessions. The Puritans became separatists and the Pilgrims became nationalists, and both recognized the covenant as the basis of the new fellowship. They had the same simplicity in their order of worship and preached the same Calvinistic theology.

"The successive companies of immigrants," says Leonard Bacon, "each with its minister or college of ministers, followed with almost monotonous exactness the method of the organization of the church at Salem." These became the churches of "the standing order" in New England, not unlike, and yet different from, the established churches of Europe. Their uniformity, though at first voluntarily accepted by each community, bred dissent. The Puritans did not shrink from excluding those who, through their doctrines or practice, disturbed the peace of the colony. They affirmed the right to pick their own company. When John and Samuel Browne, brothers and members of the colonial council, refused to abide by the new order of the church of Salem and defiantly set up a separate worship according to the Book of Common Prayer, the Governor after vainly reasoning with them deported them to England, on the ground that "their speeches and practices tended to mutiny and faction."

Roger Williams is described as a "learned, eloquent,

sincere, and generous man," highly respected by those who differed from him. Yet he was clearly out of his element in a community where religious and civil authority were so closely related. He was a separatist of separatists to the point of refusal, for conscience sake, to join his wife in family prayers. After long patience the government advised him that he would have to find room for his kind of conscience in another place. He sought refuge in Rhode Island. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson suffered a similar fate and went to the same place. Two adventurous and by no means quietistic Quaker women were sent to the Barbadoes, and a law was enacted against "all Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretics." Penalties of flogging, imprisonment at hard labor, and death were provided for offenders of this sort.

There were, also, widely diverging tendencies on questions of polity under cover of uniformity. John Eliot leaned hard toward Presbyterianism and John Wise toward democratic independency. For larger freedom in building his ideal New Jerusalem, Thomas Hooker led forth his flock a second time into the great and terrible wilderness. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, in spite of many importunities to remain in Massachusetts, turned toward Connecticut and laid the foundations of New Haven.

The primary cause for the divisions in the early New England churches was not theological, but contention between separatists and nationalists as to form of church government. The separatists opposed any form of union between Church and State. They denied the authority of the State to enforce the first table of the Decalogue, to support the church by taxation, or to make religious restrictions for suffrage or for holding office. They also refused to recognize any visible authority above the congregation, whether it be town council or presbytery, king or prelate. The nationalists insisted on union of Church and State, a Church supported by the State, and a State

directed by the Church. Through both the will of God in His word was to prevail in the community.

The policy of exclusion adopted by the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut called forth an experiment of toleration in Rhode Island. Hither came Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson, Quakers and Baptists, the distressed and discontented. They were protected by the provision in the charter of 1644, that " all men may walk as their conscience persuades them."

Their dissent, however, bore fruit after its kind. Separatists separated from one another. The Providence Baptists divided in 1652 into the "five principle Baptists" and the "six principle Baptists." The centrifugal tendencies were so strong that it was with difficulty that a sufficient number of men and women joined in an assembly for common worship. After a century there were not more than eight or ten churches of any denomination and these were mostly in a feeble and precarious state.

Strange as it may seem, here men were imbued with the spirit of toleration and they became its prophets in the New World. Though the churches of the "standing order" at first despised them, they could not escape the infection of the new spirit. The towns of Massachusetts first endured and then embraced "the peace and love which societies of different modes of worship entertained toward each other in Rhode Island." In 1714 the Baptists of Boston were invited to join the other churches in a service of thanksgiving, the invitation having been written in courteous style by Cotton Mather and addressed to "my worthy friend, Mr. Ellis Callender, elder of a church of Christ in Boston." In 1718 the Baptists of Boston reciprocated the courtesy by inviting Cotton Mather to preach the ordination sermon for Elisha Callender. The theme of the sermon was "Good Men United." In it he defined his theory of fellowship among the different churches, when he said: "Let good men go as far as they can without sin in holding communion with

one another. But where sinful terms are imposed, there let them make their stop; there separation becomes a duty; there the injunction of heaven upon them is, 'Be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing and I will receive you.' "

The spirit of toleration also prevailed from the beginning in the colony of Penn, who made it one of the primary features of his "Holy Experiment." It spread through all the states and was furthered in various ways. We need but mention the growth in influence of the dissenting churches, the rapid spread of Methodism with its infectious enthusiasm, the sense of national unity born of the Revolution, the recognition of leaders of state regardless of denominational affiliations in assembly halls and on battlefields, the liberalizing of thought, the abolishing of religious qualifications for voters and office-holders, the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in New York and in the South, the withdrawal in the New England states of taxes for the support of the Church, and the common interest in humanitarian reforms such as temperance, the abolition of slavery, and the improvement of prisons.

III. Causes of Divisions in the American Churches

The causes for the divisions that have arisen in the American churches have varied and, of course, have not all been active in each division. They may be summarized as differences of view on (1) relation of Church and State; (2) revivals; (3) slavery and secession; (4) doctrine; (5) discipline and rites.

1. When the principle of a free Church in a free State was codified in an amendment to the national Constitution, the controversy about the relation of Church and State, which disturbed and divided the pioneers, closed. Yet the issue was revived in a different form when in 1831 the Covenanters divided on the attitude of the Church toward the Government. It was one of the main

reasons also for protest and separation of the Presbyterians of the South, who established a General Assembly and became the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, now known as the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

While this question may not provoke further division, it is still a vital issue in negotiations for union between the northern and southern churches and requires serious consideration.

2. The Great Awakening had its beneficent effects on all the churches of the colonies. Yet it was not an unmixed blessing. While it converted men, it also divided churches. In New England the division was more in ways of thinking than in the forming of independent sects. Those who in their new zeal went out of the "churches of the standing order" either joined the Baptists, who profited greatly by the revival, or laid the foundations of Methodism, which spread rapidly throughout the colonies. The Synod of the American Presbyterian Church could not withstand the divisive influence of the Awakening. Two bitterly hostile sections, the Old Side and the New Side, could not walk together, because they were not agreed. The latter impeached the spiritual character of the former. Uninvited evangelists went into other men's parishes and delivered scathing invectives against an unconverted ministry. In churches and in private houses the "hot gospelers" held their meetings and uttered their inflammatory speeches. The outcome was a schism, when, after a short and easy process of discipline, the presbytery of New Brunswick was exscinded from the synod, and the presbytery of New York joined with it in organizing a new synod.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church grew out of the revival of 1800 in Kentucky. Certain doctrines were preached which did not fully accord with the standards of the Synod of Kentucky. This led to a virtual suspension of the revival ministers and the dissolution of

their presbytery. Through the organization of a new presbytery in 1810 the Cumberland Presbyterian Church had its origin.

The impact of Methodism upon the German Reformed and the German Lutheran Church, and the lack of response and in some quarters even opposition to the influence of the movement within these bodies, were the primary cause for the rise of the United Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Association. The leaders and the original members of these sects came largely from the German churches which had little sympathy for the new measures.

Revivalism at present arouses opposition, but not to such an extent as to call for synodical action or to provoke schism. The churches which once by a large majority opposed the whole system are now hospitable toward evangelists and heartily cooperate in revival movements. They are more of a unitive than a divisive factor in contemporary American Christianity.[3]

3. When, through the Revolution, the political and ecclesiastical ties to Europe were severed, the different churches vied with one another in the establishment of national organizations through general assemblies, synods, councils, or conferences. They felt a new sense both of ability and responsibility and girded themselves for their task. The home mission field extended westward toward the Rockies. They heard and responded to the call of the foreign field. They turned their attention also to moral and social reform.

But new political and religious questions arose which divided not only the nation but the churches. Foremost among these issues was the abolition of slavery, which was indeed a moral question but had far-reaching political bearings. It involved the relative rights of the states and of the national government. In the heat of contro-

[3]Cf. pp. 258-262 for a discussion of the unifying effect of revivals.

versy every phase of life, individual and social, was affected.

The feeling in the churches ran as high as in legislatures and in Congress. Schism was as unavoidable as secession. The Southern Baptist Convention was organized in 1845. The conferences of the Methodist Church in the South met in a general convention in 1845, and according to "The Plan of Separation," prepared in 1844, they proceeded to organize the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1861, adopted a resolution which in part reads as follows: "That this General Assembly . . . do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligation to promote and perpetuate . . . the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution." The southern presbyteries considered this action an attempt to coerce the Presbyterians of the South to the support of the Federal Government, as over against the governments of their several states. Protests were raised on every side and the demand for severance from the General Assembly became irresistible. Following a convention at Atlanta in August, 1861, consisting of twenty delegates from eleven presbyteries, the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South, met in December, 1861. The Protestant Episcopal Church, however, was only temporarily divided on account of secession. The division was effected in a convention at Montgomery, Alabama, called by the bishops of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas. But as early as 1865 the bishop of North Carolina and the bishop of South Carolina attended the General Convention at Philadelphia. They were cordially received and took their places among the other bishops.

The schism in the other churches continues to this day. Proposals for reunion have been made and are

now under consideration. So far there has been no successful outcome. While the casual observer naturally regards the original causes for division as no longer cogent, the leaders, especially in the southern churches, find points of sufficient difference to make them tread softly in their advance toward reunion.

4. The two doctrinal systems, Calvinism and Arminianism, which divided the Protestants of Europe, continued to divide them in America. Not only were the European divisions perpetuated here, but new divisions arose. The Baptists split into an Arminian and a Calvinistic group. The Cumberland Presbyterians leaned toward Arminianism and were not in good odor with the orthodox Presbyterians. The presbyteries of the General Assembly were divided into the Old School and the New School largely on doctrinal grounds. In 1837, in the interest of sound doctrine and strict church order, an Old School majority in the Assembly exscinded four synods with 533 churches. These synods organized an assembly of their own and continued a separate existence until the reunion of the two schools and their assemblies in 1870.

A more radical tendency in New England resulted in the Unitarian separation. As early as 1785 James Freeman, pastor of King's Chapel, the oldest Episcopal Church in New England, became a convert to Unitarian views. He was inducted into the ministry of the congregation without the presence of a bishop, and thus "the first Episcopal Church in New England became the first Unitarian Church in America."

The Universalists were organized about the same time, 1779, at Gloucester, Mass., by Mr. Murray. In 1785 Elhanan Winchester, a thoroughly Calvinistic Baptist minister, led forth a hundred of his excommunicated brethren and founded a "Society of Universalist Baptists." The two differing schools fraternized in a convention of Universalist Churches at Philadelphia in 1794

and set forth articles of belief and a plan of organization.

In 1827-8 the Friends separated into Hicksites and Orthodox. In 1854 the Wilburite separation followed. Both these divisions were due to doctrinal differences.

The earlier distinctions in doctrine may have lost their original significance, yet they have hardened into lines of cleavage between the churches which are not easily abolished. Besides these hereditary doctrinal distinctions, there are two schools or tendencies in American Christianity today, which have not yet resulted in separation or in the founding of new churches. They are the liberal evangelicals and the premillenarians, each a more or less pervasive influence in all the denominations. The liberal evangelicals may in time find closer fellowship in the churches, and yet there is always the possibility of a new schism. The premillenarians are avowed enemies of all liberalism. They believe themselves to possess the original Gospel of Jesus and the apostles and to be ardent champions of the Christian fundamentals. Their strength is in the Bible schools, which practically all teach premillenarian doctrine.

5. An apparently minor, and yet an effective, cause of divisions has been the matter of discipline, rites, and ceremonies. Questions of this kind are of great moment among those who seek to conform life and worship to the letter of the Bible, one of the main characteristics of the sects. The Baptists of Providence, Rhode Island, divided on the laying on of hands; the Dunkards in Pennsylvania on the observance of the Sabbath, community of goods, and marriage. The contention between the Regular and Separate Baptists was about love-feasts, laying on of hands, feet-washing, anointing the sick, devotion of children, and weekly communion. When Bishop Cummins joined with the Dean of Canterbury in celebrating the Holy Communion in a Presbyterian Church in connection with the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873, he gave grave offense to the

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He was deposed in 1874 and became the founder of the Reformed Episcopal Church.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century Alexander Campbell by word and pen pleaded for a restoration of the original Gospel and the apostolic order of things. He stood for the Bible alone, without any human addition in the form of creeds or confessions of faith. Upon this basis, the pure teaching of the apostles, he hoped for a union of Christians of every name. Both he and his father Thomas were convinced that the only valid baptism in the New Testament was by immersion. They and their followers were immersed and joined a Baptist Association. But in 1827 the Baptist Churches withdrew fellowship from those who contended for the Bible alone, and the followers of Campbell became an independent church now known as Christians or Disciples of Christ.

In all these divisions, whether they are regarded as justifiable or not, one must recognize the sincerity and loyalty of their leaders. They were invariably possessed with the conviction that they had discovered the way of Christ, as it was not held in any of the surrounding churches. It was this that constrained them to start new organizations to glorify God and to serve their fellowmen.

IV. Attempts at Union of American Churches

The nineteenth century may be characterized as the century of endeavor for church union. The widespread desire for it is evidenced by publications, conventions, addresses, proposals, and plans of union. These have come from unexpected sources and have awakened universal interest. All this proceeds from the inner life of American Christianity, which is deeply moved by new ideas felt rather than defined.

Among the unitive forces which have thus been at work are the following:

1. A quickened sense of the essential oneness of the Church of Christ and of the consequent wrongness of sect and schism. Once Christians gloried in their divisions, now they seek to overcome them. Professor John W. Nevin of the Reformed Church in the United States published a tract in 1847, entitled "Anti-Christ," which he described not as Nero or the Pope but as the spirit of sect and schism. Reference is now frequently made to the sin of a divided Protestantism.

2. The historical study of the Scriptures and of the history of Christianity. This has delivered men from dogmatic and ecclesiastical prejudices which divide them, and has given them new unifying bases of thought and action.

3. The recognition, which is growing, that there is a difference between essential Christianity and its denominational forms. It is seen that there is that which is common to all churches which makes them Christian, and that which is distinctive of each which makes them sectarian.

4. The necessity of a combination of forces for the accomplishment of the Lord's work—evangelism, foreign missions, home missions, religious education, moral and social reforms. Such combination works in the interest of economy of men and money as well as of efficiency of work. Here, also, are to be mentioned organizations for charitable work, which unite the gifts and personal labors of the Christians of the whole continent.

5. Cooperation in certain forms of religious propaganda, such as the American Bible Society, the International Sunday School Association, the American Tract Society, summer Bible schools, Chautauquas and conferences, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the King's Daughters, the Christian Endeavor Society.

6. An ever-growing conception of the Kingdom of God as wider than any church and as the goal for all

churches. Once denominations with good conscience worked for their own interests and through the denomination for the salvation of souls. Now men work primarily for the salvation of souls in the interest of the Kingdom of God. Denominations are thought of as a means to a higher end. When men come under the power of this vision of the Kingdom, the things which divide the Church diminish and the things that unite the Church increase.

Two kinds of church union have been pursued. The one had for its purpose the healing of a schism in a denomination; the other, the union of two or more churches either of the same name or of different names. The forms of union have varied from a temporary alliance for a specific purpose to permanent organic union. In proportion as a proposed union was comprehensive and inclusive its basis was generic, with a brief statement of essential doctrines and wide room for diversity in worship and work. A union between churches of the same name was usually based on a standard of doctrine accepted by each, or on the recognition of the confessions of the one as the equivalent of the other. In case of alliance or federation scarcely any perceptible change in doctrine, cultus, or polity was required.

Even in the colonial period definite measures were taken for the healing of the schisms which had been imported from over the sea. As instances of this tendency Leonard Bacon cites "the commingling of Separatist and Puritan in New England; the temporary alliance of Congregationalist and Presbyterian to avert the imposition of a state hierarchy; the combination of Quaker and Roman Catholic to defeat a project of religious oppression in Maryland; the drawing together of Lutheran and Reformed Germans for common worship, under the saintly influence of the Moravian Zinzendorf; and the Plan of Union by which New Englander and Scotch-Irishman were to labor in common for the evangelization of the

new settlements."[4] These were sporadic efforts, which in the next century were to become epidemic.

The spirit of reunion has wrought effectively in the American churches during the last century. The Regular and the special Baptists led the way in 1787. The Northern Baptists and the Free Baptists in 1911 united their general work preparatory to organic union, into the fuller realization of which they have since been moving. The churches of the Presbyterian order have come under the power of the same spirit. Witness the reunion of the Old School and the New School in 1871; of the Cumberland Presbyterians with the Northern Presbyterians; and at intervals the joining of seven larger or smaller bodies with the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly. Minor Methodist bodies have either united with each other or have joined the General Conference of the North or the South. The Lutherans have recently consummated the union of three of their largest Synods and Councils in what is now known as "the United Lutheran Church of America."

Thus far we have cited examples only of the union or reunion of churches of the same group or name. This ought not to have been so difficult to accomplish. Yet it is symptomatic of a change of heart in the churches from polemical antagonism to friendly recognition. Men are beginning to recognize not only the Christians in other churches but the churches of other Christians. Voices are heard and methods are proposed from different sources for the union, federal or organic, of all the Christian churches in America and even of all the churches of Christ in the whole world.[5]

One of the first of the prophets of a larger union was Leonard Bacon in an article in *The New Englander* for April, 1844: "Why might there not be, ere long, some

[4] "American Christianity," p. 406.

[5] The foreign field has more than kept pace with the home field, as a later section shows.

general conference in which the various evangelical bodies of this country and Great Britain and of the Continent of Europe should be in some way represented—a council not for legislation and division, but for union and communion and for the extension of the saving knowledge of Christ?"

In 1861 the Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church addressed a letter to "all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth" expressing a desire to cultivate peace and charity with all fellow-Christians throughout the world. In 1866 the same Assembly appointed a committee of "chosen brethren" to bear the Church's desire for fellowship, as far as practicable, with all true disciples of our common Lord and Saviour in all the world " to such Christian Churches and Societies in the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and, if it be deemed best, on the Continent of Europe also."

Alexander Campbell, a founder of the Disciples, was apprehended by the spirit of union and saw clearly, as did few of his time, the necessity of a united Church for a saved world. "The union of Christians," he wrote, "with the testimony of the apostles is all-sufficient and alone sufficient to the conversion of the world. Neither truth alone nor union alone is sufficient to subdue the unbelieving nations; but truth and union combined are omnipotent." Contrary to his purpose he became the founder of a new church which, however, has ever since been a witness in its way to the ideals of its great leader.* In their General Convention at Topeka, Kansas, in 1910, the Disciples of Christ revived the "Christian Association" first organized by Thomas Campbell in 1809. The new organization took the name "Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity." It "recognizes all Christians as members of the Body of Christ—Greek Ortho-

*A more detailed study of the rise of the Disciples as an effort to secure organic union is found on pages 298-302.

dox, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Protestants, and all others who accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour."

The Protestant Episcopal Church also has had its seers preparing the way for proposals and plans of union that have come during the last decades from that body. As early as 1792 Bishop Madison in the General Convention offered a resolution looking toward conferences for union with Christians of other denominations. When the House of Deputies did not look upon it with favor, the Bishop withdrew the proposal.

In 1853 a Memorial was addressed "To the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Council Assembled." It breathed the spirit of William Augustus Muhlenberg, who with ten others signed it. It expressed the conviction "that our church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purposes above mentioned ["the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age"] and a wider door must be opened for admission to the gospel ministry . . . of men who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, yet sound in the faith." So far as immediate results were concerned the Memorial was a failure, yet it raised questions and provoked discussions which, without question, had profound effect on the future action of the Church.

Thirty-three years after the Memorial movement, the House of Bishops of the General Convention in Chicago issued in 1886 a Declaration Concerning Unity. In response to it a committee was appointed "to consider the matter of the reunion of Christendom." In its report the committee defined, in the so-called "Quadrilateral," the four points "essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom," as follows:

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the revealed word of God.

"2. The Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.

3. The two Sacraments, baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

4. The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church."[7]

A later official utterance of the Episcopal Church was made by the General Convention of Cincinnati in 1910, which appointed a commission to arrange for a world conference on faith and order. The resolution asking for such a commission read in part as follows: "We believe that the time has now arrived when representatives of the whole family of Christ, led by the Holy Spirit, may be willing to come together for the consideration of questions of Faith and Order. . . . It is our conviction that such a conference for the purpose of study and discussion, without power to legislate or to adopt resolutions, is the next step toward unity." While the Convention at Cincinnati was in session, the Congregationalists and the Disciples were constituting similar commissions and these have cooperated with the Episcopal Commission. The Executive Committee of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System also signified their approval. The churches of America, Europe, and Asia, with the exception of the Roman Catholic, have received with favor the proposal for a conference.

The Quadrilateral of the Episcopal Church called forth a corresponding declaration from the General Convention of the Disciples of Christ in 1890. In its report the Committee on Church Union "proposed to unite the divided

[7]This Declaration, with slight modification, was adopted by the Lambeth Conference of the English Church in 1888. The articles are now known as the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. The most recent and most significant Anglican-Episcopal statement is that of the 1920 Lambeth Conference. It is printed in full as Appendix III of this report.

people of God" on the following bases: "(1) The original creed of Christ's Church; (2) the ordinances of His appointment; (3) the life which has the sinless Son of man as its perfect exemplification."

The Presbyterian Church through a committee entered into negotiations with a committee of the Episcopal Church after publication of the Quadrilateral in 1886. The Presbyterian committee took the ground that they could not continue negotiations for union unless each party recognized the ministry of the other as on equal terms. In 1896 the Northern General Assembly suspended correspondence with the Episcopal commission, until it might "be reopened by the acceptance by that church of the doctrine of 'mutual recognition and reciprocity.'"

The Roman Catholic Church is prepared to negotiate union only in one way, as expressed in the words of Cardinal Gibbons: "Jesus Christ has pointed out the only means by which this unity can be brought about and maintained, namely, the recognition of Peter and his successors as the Head of the Church."

The Oriental Orthodox Catholic Church is in close sympathy with the Lambeth Quadrilateral. It submits two conditions for the reunion of Christendom: (1) The catholic teaching of the undivided Church of the early centuries, summarized in the Nicene Creed; (2) the restoration, by the reformed non-episcopal churches, of that primitive apostolic hierarchy of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, "rejected and repudiated too hastily by their Puritan forefathers."

None of these plans of union have been accepted by the churches generally, though they have been courteously received and considered. Each church has practically invited the other churches to unite with it, to share its priceless heritage and to accept its distinctive characteristics, which as a rule were most objectionable to the founders of the other churches. Experience clearly

teaches us that union in this way, the way of compromise, would be bought at too dear a price and would be a loss instead of a gain. It would be a union by betrayal, instead of a union by mutual growth in a more comprehensive conception of Christianity.

Another way of union has been followed in the latter part of the nineteenth century—that is, by alliance or federation. Its purpose is to abolish the vices of sectarianism and to preserve the virtues of denominationalism, to recover united action without losing individual and group freedom.

The earliest form of this type of union was the Evangelical Alliance, organized in England in 1846 and in the United States in 1867. Churches of the same family have also entered into alliance. One of the most notable is "The Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System throughout the world." The most comprehensive and effective federation, including more than thirty denominations, is the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America," in existence since 1908. More recently missionary and educational agencies of the evangelical churches of the United States undertook for a time a plan for cooperative survey and effort known as "The Interchurch World Movement of North America."

Since the close of the World War, and because of the spirit of unity and cooperation which it inspired in men of all creeds, parties, and classes, a deep longing has been felt in many quarters for closer union of the churches than that of alliance, council, or federation. It has found expression in an invitation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. to the evangelical churches in the United States to a conference on organic union. Two such conferences were held, in 1918 and 1920 respectively. A Plan of Union has been formulated and is now before the supreme judicatories of the evangelical churches for final disposition.

From this historical survey it would seem that we might fairly draw the following conclusions:

1. The apostolic ideal of unity in diversity symbolized by the human body with many members has not yet been realized. The Catholic Church has gained uniformity but has lost diversity. The Protestant Churches have won diversity but have tended to lose unity. Neither Catholic nor Protestant can claim unity in diversity.

2. The scope of the attempts at union has ranged widely, including reunion of divisions in the same denomination, union of churches of the same family, union of all the evangelical churches in one country or in the world, union of all the churches, Catholic and Protestant, throughout the world. So far success has been limited to the healing of schisms within denominations, the reunion of churches of the same family, and the loose federation of evangelical churches generally.

3. Thus far the most fruitful form of union has been the alliance, council, or federation, with a view to cooperation in the work of Christ.

4. Whatever form of union may be proposed in the future must make provision at the same time for the freedom of the individual and the group, and for the collective action of the constituent bodies in aggressive and defensive work. In the language of the Encyclical Letter of the Anglican Bishops in 1908: "We must consequently desire not combination but comprehension, not uniformity but unity."

5. Organic union, if it is to be attained at all, can be reached not on the basis of the faith and order of any single church, but must be effected by the power of a conception of Christianity so comprehensive that it will logically unite. Clearly such union cannot come by reversion to the doctrines, polity, or cultus of any one of the churches, nor even by the proposal of a new form of faith and order. Organic union is unthinkable save as it comes by organic process, not by mere legislative ac-

tion. A new organism must evolve, taking into itself all the essential Christian elements of all the old denominations and eliminating their ephemeral historic forms. Denominational names represent groups which, with more or less success, have attempted in different ways to express in intellectual and institutional forms the common evangelical experience of God in Christ. Each of them has only relatively succeeded and so far each has relatively failed. When we have a deeper and broader experience of the changeless evangelical realities that we hold in common, our ecclesiastical forms and formulas may be found inadequate and irksome, and we may be prepared to lay them aside as garments that are then outgrown.

CHAPTER VIII

UNDENOMINATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

While the natural development of Christianity since the Reformation has for the most part taken the form of denominational activity and expansion, this has not been the only method by which the religious spirit has manifested itself. The shattering of formal church unity, following the activities of Martin Luther and other leaders in the quest for freedom of conscience, led inevitably to a growing variety of denominational units and forms of worship and work. To a notable extent through the earlier generations of the post-Reformation period the Christian impulse was confined to these denominational expressions and even to the present time they form the leading examples of the religious interest. A great problem now confronting organized Christianity is the subordination of the ambitions and objectives of any separate parts of the Church to the general progress of the Kingdom of God in the world. The clearer emergence of this dominating interest stimulates the growing desire for coordination and unity wherever possible among these otherwise divergent and even rival denominational movements.

Yet it is not alone in the growth of cordiality and cooperation among the denominations that the spirit of good will has been exhibited. Quite apart from conscious interdenominational effort, many movements intended to promote the religious life and practical Christian service have taken form independently, and have contributed greatly to the achievement of cooperative ends. Almost numberless when viewed in detail are the examples of this unifying spirit. In a summary as brief

as the present one it is possible to mention but a few of them. The mere enumeration of these few will suggest to the student of modern religious history a multitude of similar agencies, and will serve to illustrate in how many ways the Spirit of God has moved upon the hearts of His people in bringing about that unity of sentiment and that coordination of effort which lie in areas beyond the dividing lines of denominationalism. The movements chosen for brief consideration in this section are such well known agencies as the Young Men's Christian Association, The Young Women's Christian Association, The Student Movement, The Evangelical Alliance, The Stewardship Movement, The Laymen's Movement, the Young People's Movement, the great revivals, and the more outstanding practical social reforms.

Two aspects of these undenominational movements attract attention as soon as they are studied in perspective. The one is the fact that, like most other religious and social impulses that have taken form during the past two centuries, many have had their inception to a certain extent in European lands, especially Great Britain, and have attained a later and a somewhat different development in America. This is true of the revival movement, the Evangelical Alliance, the Young Men's Christian Association, and several of the efforts in behalf of social reform. Others of these agencies have owed little to European influence, and some have been exclusively of American origin. But in all cases they are examples of that growing sentiment of cooperative good will which has resulted, even when not consciously so intended, in repairing some of the damage wrought by the centrifugal tendencies that separated Christians into a multitude of isolated groups after the Reformation.

An important aspect of this effort to include men of like spirit in worthful Christian enterprises is the gradual transfer of emphasis in many of these movements from the more strictly spiritual concerns of conversion, faith,

devotion, and the stimulation of the holy life, to the practical phases of Christianity, such as missionary expansion, efficiency in church ministries, social service in the name of religion, and the overthrow of the great unsocial forces that plague the world. Some of these movements are characterized almost wholly by the first motive, like the great revivals and the Evangelical Alliance during almost its entire course. Others, like the Young Men's Christian Association, the Stewardship Movement, the Laymen's and the Student Movements, began with emphasis on faith and devotion, but came later to recognize the importance of practical Christian ministries as an expression of the inner life of holiness. Others still, like the Young Women's Christian Association and the great reforms, dominated as truly by the spirit of devotion to the spiritual life, have sought from the outset to meet the practical problems of particular groups in the social order with a ministry of helpfulness.

In studying the entire movement toward a closer coordination of Christian forces one is impressed with the conviction that perhaps as much has been accomplished by these attempts to bring Christians of different names together for various worthful purposes, even when the problem of unity was not consciously or only semi-consciously in mind, as by the more formal and ambitious attempts to unify creed, ritual, and organization for the attainment of the longed-for unity of the Church. At least they have had a value which must be assessed with due appreciation in the final account.

I. The Revival Movements

The revival, in its more general features, is not of modern origin. Probably there have been few periods in the history of the Church in which something corresponding in a broad manner to this form of Christian interest has not had a part in the program of the Church. Waves of religious fervor have swept over Christian lands, and

those only partially Christianized, as in the case of the widespread terror and conversions at the approach of what was supposed to be the end of the world in the year 1000 A. D.; the Crusades, which in many aspects were revivals of religion in spite of their brutal and futile features; the mass conversions wrought by missionaries like Xavier in the Middle Ages; the sweeping effects of the work of Whitefield and Wesley in Britain and America; the great Christian movement in Korea in the opening years of the present century; and the still more recent manifestation of the same spirit in Wales.

The unifying effects of movements of this character, whether local or extensive, cannot be doubted. A common spirit pervades the entire population subject to the prevailing influence. The outstanding features of the enterprise become a common interest. Differences formerly prevailing among those who are under the spell of the enthusiasm fade out. Where the fervor of the religious appeal is deeply and widely felt, even denominational variations cease to have significance. It is true, of course, that where the influence of the revival is felt only in a limited area, the prejudices of class and sect are frequently intensified. In most instances, however, the great revivals have clearly had a unifying effect.

The spirit of the revival came naturally to America from the parent lands. Such displays of emotional zeal in behalf of the religious life were not unknown in Great Britain and on the Continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet it was in America that the foundation was laid for the entire modern enterprise of revivalism. The preaching of Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts, began to attract wide attention about the year 1734. It was clear, thoughtful, stirring, marked by little of the emotional, and was strikingly effective in bringing men and women to the acceptance of the Christian life. Its influence was widespread and stimulating. It made a strong appeal to the minds

of the New England colonists, who were essentially religious, but in many cases had suffered the loss of the higher qualities of Christianity through the influence of sectarianism or indifference. It arrested the decline of faith, and was of notable value in organizing anew a standard of religious conviction and behavior.

The influence of Edwards was not confined to New England or even America. The accounts of his work were effective in awakening new interest in evangelism in Great Britain. In a very true sense Whitefield and Wesley were both stimulated by his example. In personal characteristics and method they differed greatly from him, but they had the same passion for the conversion of men and women to the life of faith. Their appeal was made with intense power and persuasiveness. Great multitudes gathered to listen to their preaching of the Gospel. The Great Awakening, as it was called, was the result in large measure of the message of Whitefield. In many instances those curious physical manifestations of emotional excitement, associated with great religious gatherings from the days of the apostles, were in evidence. By many, and apparently by the preachers themselves, they were regarded as the work of the Spirit of God. The methods, and in some measure the results, of these revival efforts were carried out into wider regions by many preachers of the various denominations.

A very notable revivalistic movement had its origin in Kentucky and Tennessee at the opening of the nineteenth century, an outstanding figure being Barton W. Stone. It reached its height of interest and excitement in August, 1801, at Cane Ridge, Kentucky. People came long distances to attend the great gatherings. The physical manifestations prevailed to a marked degree. A profound impression was made upon the entire region by the meetings. The preaching was biblical and practical. Out of these evangelistic efforts at least two important religious movements had their organizing impulse, the Cumberland

Presbyterian and the Christian, the latter of which was specifically marked by an interest in Christian unity.[1]

Another important figure in the history of American revivalism is President Charles G. Finney, whose work at Oberlin was the center of great evangelistic impulses and to whom was due in large degree the widespread revival of 1857 and 1858. In this series of ingatherings many of the ideals of later evangelistic effort appeared, such as the organization of valuable prayer circles, the closer fellowship of members of various churches in the common task of winning others to Christ, and the discovery of the importance of women's ministries in connection with such work.

Probably the name best known in the history of modern evangelism is that of Dwight L. Moody. During the seventh and eighth decades of the last century he was one of the most familiar figures in the religious life of America and Great Britain. A layman, who abandoned a business career to devote himself increasingly to the task of evangelism, he became a leader in the field of revivalism, holding great meetings in most of the larger cities of the United States and Canada, and making frequent trips to England and Scotland with the same urgent and winsome message. Out of these directly evangelistic activities grew the institutions at Mt. Hermon, Northfield, and Chicago which have had as their purpose the perpetuation of his spirit and ideals. The last years of Mr. Moody's life were devoted to a considerable extent to evangelistic institutes in various parts of the country, less for the purposes of direct revivalism than for the stimulation of the spirit of evangelism in the ministry and the churches.

In recent years the work of revivalism has taken two divergent forms. The men who have followed the vocation of evangelists have developed a very efficient tech-

[1]For certain divisive aspects of some of these revivals, see pp. 240-241.

nique, and for a time the groups of those called into service about the persons of men of striking success in this field came to be sizable, and their methods very systematic and efficient. Campaigns extending over months of time were not infrequent, and converts in great numbers were brought into the churches. Increasingly, however, as the values of religious education have found recognition, the more picturesque and professional forms of revivalism have yielded among the churches to a vital concern for a more constant and fundamental type of evangelism, pastoral, educational, persistent. This movement recognizes as truly as the other the essential place of evangelism in the Church, and the immeasurable significance of the service rendered to Christianity by the great revivalists. But it is taking increasing account of the pervasive and universal character of true evangelism, and particularly the religious education of children and young people, as the function of every minister and every congregation at all seasons of the year.

The unifying values of these evangelistic activities, whether of the revivalistic or the educational type, are obvious. A great common concern lays hold of the churches and minimizes the divisive factors. Experience has demonstrated the fact that today no interest is more likely to stimulate the cooperative spirit in a community than the development of a genuine, community-wide enthusiasm for the preaching of the Christian message and the extension of the kingdom of God. It is of no small significance that the most unifying aspect of the work of interchurch federations in the present day, as noted elsewhere in this report, is their program of evangelism.[2]

II. The Evangelical Alliance

The growth of missionary interest in the eighteenth century, with the various though modest forms of cooperation attempted in the furtherance of that cause, and the

[2] Cf., pp. 120-122 of this report.

inception and strengthening of the tract societies and other Christian agencies, suggested the possibility of interdenominational effort among Protestants on a much wider scale. The sentiment that there were much more extensive areas of cooperative activity than had yet been cultivated led to repeated conferences of those interested. At length in August, 1846, after careful preparation, a gathering was held in London, with eight hundred representatives present from fifty different evangelical bodies in Europe and America. At this meeting an organization was perfected and the name "The Evangelical Alliance" was adopted. Branches were to be organized throughout the world, on an independent though cooperating basis. Very soon such branches were established in France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Hungary, Greece, the United States and Canada, and in the missionary lands of Japan and India. Naturally the British branch had a certain priority and precedence in the movement, though the other national organizations, especially that in the United States, attained encouraging strength and efficiency.

The objects of the Alliance as stated in the constitution adopted at the London meeting were: To promote evangelical union with a view to greater success in Christian activity; to maintain and exhibit the essential unity of the Church of Christ; to counteract the influence of infidelity and superstition, especially in their organized form; to assist the cause of religious freedom everywhere; to hold up the supreme authority of the Word of God; to urge observance of the Lord's Day; to arrest the immoral habits of society; and to act as a bureau of information and suggestion. The Alliance put itself on record as desiring to avoid dogmatic or legislative utterances, and to endeavor to preserve the unity of the spirit. As a further interpretation of the sentiment of this initial gathering, the following may be quoted from its declaration of principles: "We have no intention or desire to give rise to a

new denomination or sect, nor to effect a new amalgamation of churches, except in the way of facilitating personal Christian intercourse, and a mutual good understanding; nor to interfere in any way whatever with the internal affairs of the various denominations; but simply to bring individual Christians into closer fellowship and cooperation on the basis of the spiritual union which already exists in the vital relation of Christ to the members of His body in all ages and all countries."

It was deemed necessary, however, to formulate a doctrinal basis for the new organization. Therefore a "summary of the consensus of the various evangelical confessions of faith" was adopted by the London Conference, embracing the following items: (1) The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures; (2) The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; (3) The unity of the Godhead, and the trinity of persons therein; (4) The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the Fall; (5) The incarnation of the Son of God, His work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and His mediatorial intercession and reign; (6) The justification of the sinner by faith alone; (7) The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner; (8) The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked; (9) The divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. This summary was regarded as important "as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance."

It was the plan that each of the branches of the Alliance should hold meetings annually, or as frequently as possible, and that all should unite in a general conference once in four or five years. General conferences were

held in London, 1851; Paris, 1855; Berlin, 1857; Geneva, 1861; Amsterdam, 1867; New York, 1873; Basel, 1879; Copenhagen, 1884; Florence, 1891; London, 1896 and 1907, eleven in all. Three lines of activity were followed: the holding of conferences, sectional and general, the promotion of the Week of Prayer, and the encouragement of religious liberty. The last-named interest was directed to the championing of the cause of those who were persecuted for conscience sake, like the Lutherans in the Baltic provinces which belonged formerly to Sweden and Poland, but at the time to Russia. In this case representations were made by several of the national branches, and a deputation from the United States visited Russia in 1870 and secured the promise of remedial steps on the part of the Government. Successful efforts were also made by the Alliance to improve the condition of Christians in Italy, Spain, and Sweden. In the mission fields like Japan and Turkey influence was brought to bear on the government to accord missionaries more considerate treatment.

The Evangelical Alliance for the United States was not organized until January, 1867, although there were Americans present at the London conference of 1846 and it had been planned to launch the American branch soon after that time. The objects of the organization were cooperation with the other branches of the Alliance, the strengthening of Christian union and fellowship, the effort to counteract infidelity and superstition, and the promotion of religious liberty throughout the world. The first official act of the American branch was the sending of representatives to the General Conference at Amsterdam. Annual and sometimes semi-annual conferences were held, and regular reports were issued. At the Amsterdam meeting the American representatives invited the Alliance to meet in New York in 1869. This date was found impossible by some of the European delegates, and 1870 was agreed upon. Meantime, however, difficulties

arose over questions of jurisdiction and authority, and only by the skillful mediation of Dr. Philip Schaff, who made four journeys to Europe for the purpose, was the plan carried through. The conference finally met in New York in 1873. The high purpose set for this gathering was "to bring Europe and America together in Christ for closer union and fellowship, for a united testimony against unbelief and false belief, for the promotion of peace and good will among the nations of the earth, and for the encouragement of every good work of the Master." The results apparently met the most ardent hopes.

Notable among the conferences held by the American Alliance were those in Washington in 1887, on the general subject of "National Perils and Opportunities," with from twelve to fifteen hundred delegates in attendance; Boston in 1889, on the topic, "National Needs and Remedies," with some five hundred delegates, representing sixteen denominations; and Chicago in 1893, a meeting which was one of the leading features of the great program of the World's Congress Auxiliary held in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition. The leading theme of the gathering was "Christianity Practically Applied," particularly in international relationships. This meeting brought forth expressions of surprise and admiration from men like Lord Kinnaird and Henry Drummond as the most significant in their experience.

Many phases of cooperative work were undertaken in different parts of the country under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance. Among them were efforts to prevent the use of public funds for sectarian purposes, the study of conditions in communities where there was danger of overlapping among the churches, the conduct of surveys in New York state in 1890, and the promotion of city and town alliances to serve in local communities the general purposes attempted by the national Alliance. These achievements were much more important at that time than they would be considered at present, when the

cooperative spirit is more widely realized. It was a pioneer effort in a great cause. It was the beginning of many forms of unified endeavor, and served to interpret the sentiment of fellowship to all the denominations. If its limitations are perceived, at the same time it is surprising that as much was accomplished as the record shows.

With the last decade of the century the work of the Evangelical Alliance in the United States declined, and was in large measure superseded by other agencies. Its work was educational and in a measure preparatory. The twenty years and more covered by this movement were of the greatest value to the churches. In 1901 there was formed "The Federation of Churches and Christian Workers," and in 1908 "The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America" came into being. The spirit and values of the Evangelical Alliance largely passed over into these new and more modern organizations, especially the latter. The causes of the decline of the Alliance were various, including the financial basis of the membership, depending upon money payments; the doctrinal basis, which failed to appeal to a large proportion of the friends of cooperation; the failure to provide adequately for lay influence and leadership; and the outgrowing of the original interest of the movement in the matters of religious liberty and superstition as at first defined.[3]

III. The Young Men's Christian Association

The moral and spiritual condition of the nominally Christian world at the beginning of the nineteenth century was serious. The Napoleonic wars had left their disastrous influence upon society. Europe was paying the penalty which all times of war exact. In Britain infi-

[3]For full accounts of the Evangelical Alliance see the reports of the various conferences, especially "Conference on Christian Union: being a narrative of the proceedings of the meetings held in Liverpool, October, 1845," and the report of the New York meeting in 1873.

delity and social unrest were everywhere in evidence. The growth of city life and the new interests of machinery drew great numbers of young men to the industrial centers. They were crowded into living quarters wholly strange and inadequate, where companionship was difficult or of the worst character. Dissipation and low ideals were the constant temptation. No suitable provisions were made to meet the new emergency. For such a situation the methods of the churches were antiquated. The home of Protestantism—whether in its Anglican, Puritan, or Wesleyan form—was in a state of moral and religious decline. In these conditions there was little promise of inspiring the new generation of young men with a passion for high ideals or sacrificial effort.

But it is the nature of Christianity to disclose new evidences of its potency at the very moments when it appears most in danger of collapse. A vital organism puts forth fresh manifestations of life in the times of need. It is this quality of self-renewal which makes Christianity the wonder of history. At the period of which we are speaking sources of power were released through the rise of the Young Men's Christian Association, with George Williams as the leader of the great movement.

Soon after beginning his artisan career as a worker in a drapery establishment at Bridgewater at the age of fifteen, he was converted, and from the first took very seriously the obligations of the Christian life. Engaging in Sunday school work, he gathered about him a small group, only two or three at first, for purposes of prayer and conversation on religious themes. Not content with the opportunities which the town afforded, he went out to neighboring communities and held meetings to which any interested persons were invited. In 1841, now twenty years old, he went up from the provinces to London, and became a junior assistant in an establishment near St. Paul's in Ludgate Hill. It was a notable year, for the Oxford Movement was then in the height of its power;

but the life of the young manhood of the various trades seemed in no degree touched by the forces of religion or morals. In the mercantile house of Hitchcock and Rogers Williams found more than eighty clerks, whose hours were long and whose pleasures were few and of the least uplifting nature. It was not easy in the atmosphere of the shop and in the unsatisfactory living quarters to maintain a life of ideals, much less to influence others to the same purpose. But with the energy and fervor of his Bridgewater days he went among the boys of the establishment and gradually gathered a group that developed into a prayer company, a Bible class, a missionary society on a modest scale, and the beginnings of a literary club.

The influence of Finney's message on Williams during this period was definitive and inspiring. He read his "Letters to Professing Christians" and "Lectures on Revivals," and found in them suggestion and encouragement for the great enterprise that was beginning to take form in his mind. He took his employer, Mr. Hitchcock, into his confidence about his plans for the young men of the establishment, and secured from him not only the promise of larger quarters for the meetings, but his own personal enlistment in the Christian life. Not content with the movement as it was taking form in the one commercial house in which he was employed, he arranged to extend the enterprise to all other houses in the same line of business. On June 6, 1844, an association was formed with twelve men as members, and the name given to it of "The Society for Improving the Spiritual Condition of the Young Men Engaged in the Drapery and Other Trades."

Ampler quarters were secured for the growing enterprise in a coffee house in Ludgate Hill and in July of the same year letters were sent to a large number of young men in London to acquaint them with the plans of the association. A regular series of fortnightly meetings was organized, in addition to the group meetings for prayer

and Bible study. Evangelistic services were soon started in Sargeant's Inn and about the same time Christopher Smith, one of Williams's most consecrated associates, proposed that the enlarged enterprise should be called the "Young Men's Christian Association," by which name it has been known ever since.

The growth of the movement was rapid and consistent. In November of the same year a young man was selected as assistant secretary and missionary, the first of that great company of employed workers in the Association. Into all parts of Great Britain the work was carried and Associations organized. In December, 1851, the first beginnings were made in the United States, with the organization of an Association at Boston, which numbered 1,200 in its membership the first year. Like other movements which have been named, beginning in Great Britain and coming later to this country, it here found instant recognition and welcome as one of the most effective forces for the enlistment and training of boys and men in Christian service. From the first it has been largely a layman's movement, though ministers have had no inconsiderable part in its activities. Its fourfold program of physical, intellectual, social, and religious instruction and activity has stimulated the young men of multitudes of communities to the attainment of nobler things. For though it began as a purely religious institution, for the promotion of the life of faith and prayer among young men, it has added to its plans the practical and efficient ministries of applied Christianity in all social and redemptive service. This is in entire keeping with the ideals of service which modern Christianity has been concerned to affirm and illustrate, and is no less the expression of the spirit of Christ than are the more formal aspects of church activity.[1]

[1] For a full account of the Y M C A in this country see Richard C. Morse, "History of the North American Young Men's Christian Associations," New York, 1913.

It is inevitable that a work of this character, now no longer confined to English-speaking lands, but a mighty missionary force throughout the world, should operate as an aid to unity of religious interests. Men of all Christian creeds have joined in enthusiastic commitment to the programs of the Association for physical, intellectual, social, and religious betterment and therein have learned the value of Christian cooperation. Its activities in industrial centers, in railroad groups, in educational institutions, in mercantile circles, and wherever manhood is employed, have made it a vast unifying agency for moral progress and religious improvement. It has been a great helper of the churches in all the ministries in which men and boys can be assisted to the larger life. For these reasons its value as a promoter of Christian unity is beyond question. It has been able to serve in behalf of the Church in many circumstances in which the churches themselves, by reason of their divisions or limitations of their programs, were unable to do the most effective work.[5]

IV. The Young Women's Christian Association

Among the papers left by George Williams there was found an outline of an organization for women similar to that of the Young Men's Christian Association. This plan was probably drafted before 1850, but the time was not yet opportune for such a movement. In the fifties, however, the need of providing some sort of social and religious atmosphere for the young women employed in business and industry stimulated men and women of good will in various parts of the United States to provide suitable homes or other places of recreation and improvement. So much was being undertaken in behalf of young men by the Association that something of like nature was felt to be due to the young women of the land.

In November, 1858, a meeting was held in the chapel

[5]For the work of the YMCA and its relations with the churches today, see pp. 123-132 of this report.

of the University of New York and an organization formed known as the "Ladies' Christian Association," for the purpose of providing needed opportunities for social life, instruction, employment, and recreation to young women away from home in cities. The first "branch" was formed in 1859 in Boston and in the following year a house was opened for those ministries which have since become so definite a part of the program of the institution. These included a restaurant, an employment bureau, a loan library, a program of social and religious activities, a Sunday afternoon Bible class, a Thursday prayer meeting, a monthly missionary meeting, and open and cordial hospitality. This became the standard of activities for the other houses that were opened. By 1861 there were four such centers.

But it was not until 1866 that the Boston organization took the name of the "Young Women's Christian Association," with the declared purpose of promoting the "temporal, moral, and religious welfare of young women dependent on their own exertions for support." The basis of membership was that "any Christian woman who is a member in regular standing of an evangelical church may become an active member of this Association." The movement spread rapidly over the United States. In 1867 the Pittsburg Association was formed, and entertained the third annual conference of the Young Women's Christian Associations. In 1868 similar branches were formed in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and St. Louis. From that time onward it was only necessary for the enterprise to be interpreted to secure entrance into all alert communities. The standard activities have continued, varied as local conditions demand. One of the most important departments of the organization is its student section, represented in nearly all the institutions of education to which women have access.[6]

[6] For a fuller discussion see Elizabeth Wilson, "Fifty Years of Association Work among Young Women," New York, 1916.

To a certain degree this movement has repaid the services of Great Britain to America in the matter of the inspiration and beginning of important religious projects. For the work of the Young Women's Christian Association, even before it received that name, was transferred to Great Britain, or at any rate it furnished suggestion and impulse for the enlargement of a work already begun in behalf of the nurses in London. Soon after the organization of the Boston home it was decided to enlarge the scope of the Home for Nurses on the lines later familiar under the direction of the Y W C A.

So convincing has been the program of the Association that it has gone into most of the lands in which Christian effort has been expended. In 1894 a World Association was formed, with the United States and several European countries as members. The unifying value of a work so widely distributed and so effective as this cannot fail to be impressive. Its prayer leagues have stressed the common heritage of worship in the lives of all believers, without regard to sex or creed or race. Its training schools have sent forth workers imbued with a spirit of united service. Its ministries of human helpfulness have carried to multitudes of young women, in industry and in college, the values of practical Christianity and have been another living proof of the unfailing vitality and unity of the Christian faith.[1]

V. The Student Movement

What is now known as the Student Movement is composed of several organizations, through all of which there runs a unity of purpose and method that gives them the reality as well as the appearance of being one great enterprise. There are three major organizations which constitute the heart of the movement, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian As-

[1] For the work of the Y W C A during the war and its relation to the churches, see pp. 22 and 132-134 of this report.

sociation, and the Student Volunteer Movement. The first student Y M C A was formed in 1858. From that time on scattering Associations were formed among the colleges. In 1877 at the International Y M C A Convention at Louisville the student members discussed the possibility of a Christian intercollegiate movement, which was soon after organized and under secretarial direction spread rapidly.

The purpose of the Student Young Men's Christian Association is declared to be "to lead students to become intelligent and loyal disciples of Christ as their Savior and Lord; to help them in their encounter with the temptations of student life; to build up strong Christian faith and symmetrical Christian character; to train them in individual and associated Christian work in order that they may be useful in the Church; to place upon them a burden of responsibility for the extension and upbuilding of the kingdom of Christ throughout the world, and to influence them to place their lives where they can best serve their generation." The movement includes in its field all universities and colleges, theological seminaries, law, medical, dental, pharmaceutical, agricultural, and veterinary colleges, institutes of technology and engineering, military and naval academies, normal schools, preparatory schools, academies, and high schools.

The student Y W C A is the smallest department of the International Young Women's Christian Association. The first college organization of this nature was formed in 1872 in the Middle West. For years separate state organizations guided the student work among women. Not until about 1910 did the International Y W C A undertake supervision and form a separate department for the student members. It is interesting to note that the recent controversy in the Y W C A convention at Cleveland was concerned solely with the student department. An alternative basis of membership, resting upon profession of faith in Christ rather than upon church

membership, was put into effect in this department because it was felt that the student work was sometimes hindered by the more formal standard of membership.

The Student Volunteer Movement was inspired by the leadership of Mr. D. L. Moody and Luther Wishard as far back as 1886, when a conference lasting four weeks was held at Mt. Hermon for Bible study. In the course of this conference the theme of missions was prominently presented. Interest in the subject grew rapidly and before the conference ended one hundred volunteers had dedicated themselves to missionary tasks. From this have grown the widespread activities and values of the Student Volunteer Movement until it has become a vital force in university and college life. Its value in calling forth into missionary service men and women who have become imbued with the ideals of broad Christian fellowship is immeasurable.

The World's Student Christian Federation, organized in 1895, aims to unite the three student Christian movements in various lands and to promote relations among them; to collect information regarding religious conditions among students in all lands; to promote discipleship and deepened spiritual life and to enlist students in the extension of the Kingdom. The student movement as a whole shows evidence of great vitality and enthusiasm. Much has been done to safeguard Christian faith in students through the period of change wrought by scientific and philosophical studies, and to prepare the way for new developments of Christian thought and service. Most important of all, perhaps, is the unifying effect of the movement upon the future of the Church, bringing together, as it does, in Christian service so many young men and women who are to become leaders in the Church. The unifying effects of this type of interest are expressed in the following statement by one of its conspicuous representatives: "The world-wide student movement has revealed to the Christian students of all nations and races

and climes with greater fullness and attractiveness their oneness in Jesus Christ. It has emphasized that high over all the peculiarities and differences that divide us is our common faith and above all our common Lord. In the ranks in the colleges and theological seminaries are the leaders both clerical and lay of the Church of tomorrow. They are working together in harmony and sympathy and with power on the basis of agreement on the essentials of Christianity. So they will continue to do as they leave college walls. This already presents the most telling object lesson in Christian unity that the world affords. Never after the years of Christian fellowship and associated efforts within the college will these men cease to demonstrate to the world that there is one body and one spirit, even as they were called in one hope of their calling.'"[8]

VI. Laymen's and Young People's Movements

The strong impulse toward greater consecration of life and greater efficiency in church activities has led to the inception and development of several lay enterprises of a union nature, and others in which laymen have had at least a very large share. These were in large measure the result of the conviction that the ministries of the churches are confined too exclusively to the clergy and do not enlist sufficiently the practical business experience of men who are equally desirous of rendering devoted and united service to the Kingdom.

A significant movement of this character in the last century was connected with the idea of a deeper sense of stewardship in the use of possessions. It was known as the American Systematic Beneficence Society, founded in 1857. The circular announcing its formation declared

[8]For a fuller account of the present significance of the student movement, see the 1920 report of the World's Student Christian Federation, which can be secured from the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

that it was established "by clergy and laity of the various evangelical denominations" and that its object was "to promote this great work of systematic beneficence according to the Christian principle." The statement added: "We hope to do something to elevate the tone of Christian principle and action throughout the whole country without regard to geographical or ecclesiastical differences." The president of the organization was Matthew W. Baldwin, the distinguished layman so prominently known in connection with the Baldwin Locomotive Company. Its first agent was Sheldon Jackson, later to become the greatest home missionary of his generation, who was commissioned "to present the cause of systematic beneficence by addresses and public assemblies, by holding conferences with pastors of churches and friends of scriptural liberality and by other proper additional methods as may be most feasible."[9] In England the movement seems to have been more extensive than in this country. For some time it published there a quarterly journal called *The Benefactor*. How much was hoped for from the movement may be judged from the English report of 1864-1865 which even said: "Nor are we to limit the effect of this movement of God to the pecuniary results. . . . Freedom of thought, freedom of worship, freedom of organization, and freedom of contributions, will yet restore the long lost love and unity of the Redeemer's people."

Although the Systematic Beneficence Society disappeared, the emphasis on the stewardship of possessions has been revived in many forms and has deepened the sense of Christian fellowship and service. The Tenth Legion in the Christian Endeavor Society and the stewardship departments in various churches are among its many expressions today.

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[9]See R. L. Stewart, "Sheldon Jackson," New York, 1909, Chapter II. For the movement in England see Henry Lansdell, "The Sacred Tenth," Chapter 36, London, 1906.

The Laymen's Evangelistic Movement was less a formal and organized interest than the response of Christian leaders in various churches and different parts of the United States to the need for deeper concern for the immediate and urgent preaching of the Gospel in ways less formal and fixed than in the usual methods of evangelism. Its purpose was also the encouragement of all the churches in the utilization of such evangelistic powers as they possessed, without depending too much upon professional assistance. The value of this impulse was very great and though the Movement as a formal activity is less conspicuous now than formerly, its results abide.

The Laymen's Missionary Movement, dating from 1906, was in reality an outgrowth of the Student Volunteer Movement. It was an effort to capitalize lay efficiency in the promotion of missionary enthusiasm and activity. Under its direction several series of notable conventions were held in the chief cities of the nation, a large amount of missionary information disseminated, and new enlistments of personnel and finances secured for missionary boards. These conventions had the value not only of stimulating interest in the cause of missions, but as well of deepening the spiritual life of the communities in which they were held, and promoting the spirit of unity and the practice of united endeavor among Christians of many names.

The Men and Religion Forward Movement, another expression of the sense of responsibility on the part of the laymen in the churches, took form about 1912, and for a time was prominent in the thought and programs of the American churches. It embraced members of all the denominations, in so far as they were moved to participate in so promising an enterprise. In a very true sense it laid the foundation for those promotional activities which have taken form in nearly all the Christian bodies in the way of new and urgent efforts to enlist the entire Church, laymen and ministers, in efficient and com-

prehensive plans for the achievement of the Christian objectives.

During recent years several of these lay activities have been in some measure discontinued, some of them in deference to the extended program of the Interchurch World Movement. But in one form or another they are permanent assets of the Church of Christ, both as efficient aids in its ministry of good in the world, and as promoters of the spirit of cooperation and unity.

An influence on Christian unity that deserves more than passing attention has sprung from the young people's movement, particularly as it has found expression in the Christian Endeavor Society. Founded in 1881 in Portland, Maine, by Rev. Francis E. Clark, it took root so rapidly that within four years it had been carried to India by a missionary and also to other lands. In 1885 the United Society (the national union of the United States and Canada) was organized and within a quarter of a century there were 50,000 societies. Local and state unions were also developed, bringing together the societies in various churches. National conventions have inspired thousands of delegates with a vision of a common task and with enthusiasm for united work. The gathering in Boston in 1895 was attended by more than 50,000.

The movement gathered great force in England also, beginning about 1888, and spread to practically every land where Protestant churches were at work. Its constitution has been translated into about a hundred tongues. A World's Union of Christian Endeavor societies was organized and has held several conventions. At the convention in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1906 a platform of principles was adopted, including the following, which suggests the bearing of the movement on Christian unity:

"Christian endeavor stands for Loyalty and Fellowship. Its loyalty to the local church and its work is guar-

anteed by its covenant pledge, which embodies its motto, 'For Christ and the Church'; its fellowship is guaranteed by its insistence only on fundamental Christian principles, which has enabled it already to find a home in every Christian land and denomination."

Many other impulses to good works and the enrichment of the spirit, some of them taking form in less conspicuous manner but with most valuable results, have had a definite effect on unity through increasing mutual acquaintance among Christians and a realization of the value of joint endeavors. The Brotherhood Movement has released new lay effort in Christian service. The whole field of women's work in the Church has been widened during the past few years. Prayer leagues have sprung up, less by formal effort than by common impulse, uniting Christians everywhere in intercession to the one Master of them all. The fellowship of Christian people as expressed in hymns and other utterances of Christian worship has brought a deeper consciousness of the common character of our heritage. Many undenominational agencies for the distribution and more adequate study of the Holy Scriptures have made their appearance. All of these activities are greater aids than is often realized to the sense of comradeship which all Christian people enjoy with those who have obtained like precious faith.

VII. Movements for Social Reform

In the vast field of practical effort in which men and women of Christian spirit and vision have wrought for the overthrow of the social wrongs that have distressed the world it is possible here to give only a hint of the influence that has been brought to bear on Christian unity. An embodied task, challenging men of kindred minds to a common effort, has always been a potent factor in minimizing differences on lesser points and creating a consciousness of essential oneness in the things that profoundly matter.

The history of the Church in connection with the abolition of slavery is one of mingled light and shadow. Judge Birney even called "the American churches the bulwarks of American slavery," and it is undeniably true that the churches as a whole were often influenced by the slave power. Yet it was mainly Christian sentiment that finally broke up slavery. In both England and America the earliest bodies in modern times to declare against it were the Quakers. As early as 1671 George Fox had denounced it and as early as 1696 the Pennsylvania Quakers advised their members against the slave trade. In 1774 all persons who engaged in the trade and in 1776 all who refused to emancipate their slaves were excluded from membership among the Quakers. In other churches also there soon came to be protests. Wesley and Whitefield preached against the slave trade. In Rhode Island Dr. Hopkins, a Congregational minister, was so vigorous in his opposition that he had a large part in leading to its abolition in the state in 1784. And although the Quakers were the only religious body to exclude slaveholders, others took strong action. In 1787 the Presbyterian Synod urged the people "to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America." Other bodies also later took clear-cut attitudes.

More important than such official utterances, no doubt, was the work of individual Christians. "Nearly all," says Wilson, the historian of the slave power, "who engaged in the formation of antislavery societies were members of Christian churches." William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips were profoundly influenced by Christianity. Another pioneer, Elijah P. Lovejoy, who was killed by a mob for his abolitionist efforts, was a Presbyterian minister. Channing and Whittier and the Beechers are other names that bear witness to the Christian influence.[10] The Abolitionists were, of course, de-

[10] See the "Encyclopedia of Social Reform," New York, 1910, under "Slavery," "Abolition," "Christianity and Social Reform."

nounced from hundreds of pulpits and finally when the irrepressible conflict came the churches divided over the issue. But in the North, at least, it is clear that the moral passion called out by the antislavery issue bound together thousands of men from all the churches in a great common endeavor.

Of a different character and less widely known, but significant as illustrative both of the possibilities of united service and of its bearing on the movement for unity, was the movement which culminated in the "United States Christian Commission," organized to care for the social and religious needs of the soldiers during the Civil War. Originating at a convention of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1861, a commission of twelve Christian men from various churches was organized to represent the Association and the Christian public in serving as a medium of communication between the men in the army and their homes. Under its direction Christian literature was provided, personal religious work carried on, and other measures taken for alleviating the horrors of war. As in the case of the chaplains in the recent World War, the representatives of the Christian Commission, called to serve men of all shades of religious experience and belief, came into a new appreciation of the essential oneness of their Christian faith.

The whole history of the modern temperance movement is the most conspicuous example of the mutual influence of the churches and social reform movements on each other. The way has been long and difficult, marked by efforts of men who seemed to be calling to an unresponsive generation. Up through the stages of the Washingtonian Movement, the Blue Ribbon Movement, the work of such individuals as Gough, Murphy, and Father Mathew, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Prohibition Party, the Anti-Saloon League, and a score of other agencies, the movement has gone on its way till its goal is in sight. Few things

more astonishing in the history of human betterment are to be recorded. In the movement the churches have directly and officially had a great part through their temperance boards or societies, and, on the other hand, the drawing together of members of all churches who were devoted to the cause has contributed to the development of a consciousness of unity. Some of the temperance movements have been outside the churches as such, but it is confessed on every hand that the Church was the source of their power. The W. C. T. U. and the Anti-Saloon League have always had an avowedly Christian basis. And it would be difficult to find any factor that has had a greater effect in cementing the interest of Christians. The stupendous and cohesive strength of the forces of evil, against which these organizations have been aligned, has made more vivid the necessity of united effort and has afforded a new demonstration of the power of Christian sentiment, when effectively welded and deliberately expressed in common action.

Many other movements for social betterment, such as prison reform, the movement for social purity, the social settlement enterprise, and organized charities, are the result, directly or indirectly, of Christian teaching and largely supported by members of the Church. And in all such cases there is a reflex influence on the Church. Thus drawn together in joint endeavors regardless of denominational lines, the unity of those who are touched by the Spirit of the one Lord becomes increasingly recognized as a present reality.

When one passes in review the host of agencies that may be characterized as undenominational—movements that have sought to secure united action on the part of Christian men and women through ignoring the differences at issue among the denominations—he is profoundly impressed by the strong influences that have been set in motion in the direction of unity. The Evangelical

Alliance, the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the Men and Religion Forward Movement—to mention only a few of the outstanding enterprises—have broken down provincial points of view, eliminated prejudices and misunderstandings, developed a spirit of fellowship in which Christians of various names knew themselves to be really one. This far-reaching, even though indirect, influence on the denominations has been a powerful factor in making possible the growing official cooperation among the denominations themselves.

CHAPTER IX

INTERDENOMINATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

The preceding chapter has considered significant attempts that have been made to bring church members together through ignoring denominational lines. The cooperation thus secured has been that of individuals as Christians rather than of churches as churches. During the same period, however, other movements have been going on which aimed at a closer official relationship between the denominations themselves, and are, therefore, to be regarded as interdenominational in the strict sense rather than undenominational. They have been referred to briefly in Chapter VII, but some of them were so important as to deserve more detailed treatment here.

I. The Cooperative Movement in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century

1. *Cooperation between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the "Plan of Union"*

American Presbyterianism had two main sources, English Puritanism and Scottish-Irish immigration. Between the Puritanism that settled New England and became Congregational and the Puritanism represented in the Middle Colonies there was always doctrinal sympathy. The Congregational Churches of New England, represented in the Cambridge Synod of 1648, approved the Westminster Confession as "very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith." Ministers from New England supported the preaching of the Scottish-Irish founder, Francis Makemie, and joined with him in or-

ganizing the first American presbytery, that of Philadelphia, in 1706. This association in sympathy was increased by the discussions consequent upon the "Great Awakening." Those in New England and the Middle Colonies who favored the revival, of whom Jonathan Edwards was a leader, known as "New Lights" and "New Sides," felt that their cause was essentially one. They founded what is now Princeton University in 1746, and ultimately called Jonathan Edwards to its presidency. In New England they were opposed by the "Old Lights," from whose radical minority the "liberal" element which became Unitarian in the early nineteenth century developed. In the Middle Colonies the opposition was known as the "Old Sides," who then represented an opposite tendency, insisting on rigid confessional uniformity, strongly suspicious of all that was English in its origin, or even derivatively English by way of New England, largely Scottish-Irish in spiritual ancestry, and at first having their center about Philadelphia, but soon strongly represented also in western Pennsylvania.

Under these circumstances, "New Lights" and "New Sides," feeling themselves essentially one, regarded differences in polity as little more than local peculiarities. Closer ties were soon woven between them. Fear of the possible establishment of episcopacy by Parliament led to a joint convention of representatives of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia and of the Associations of Connecticut, which met annually, from 1766 to 1775, to devise measures of protection. Even before the Revolution settlers from New England and the Middle Colonies were pouring westward, and with the cessation of that struggle were rapidly making new homes in New York, western Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Congregationalists and Presbyterians were awake to the spiritual needs of these nascent communities and were soon sending missionaries and founding churches among them, and none were more forward in this work than those of "New

Light" and "New Side" lineage. By 1774 the Connecticut General Association was committed by vote to this evangelism, and in 1798 formally organized itself as a missionary society; nor was Presbyterianism behind. Similar associations for what would now be called home missions were springing rapidly into being throughout older Congregational and Presbyterian territories at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

Being thus at one in aim and in doctrinal outlook, and laboring in communities whose settlers were drawn equally from Congregational and Presbyterian sources, it was natural that the thought of yet closer association in a common work should arise. Led, it would appear, by Jonathan Edwards, son of the famous divine whose name he bore, the Connecticut General Association raised the question of definite cooperation with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, with the result that the latter body in 1801 formulated the famous "Plan of Union," which the Connecticut body promptly ratified. By the provisions of this agreement, which applied to home missionary soil, each member in a mixed church should have the privileges of the polity of his choice. Each church should choose a "standing committee" which should exercise the ordinary rights of a session, and the delegate of such a standing committee should have full recognition as a ruling elder if sent to a presbytery. Presbyterian and Congregational ministers could be indifferently pastors of Presbyterian, Congregational, or mixed churches, but should be answerable for discipline according to the polity they represented. The whole plan was drawn in the utmost spirit of good will and was as equitable an arrangement as the wisdom of the time could devise. American Christianity has no more sincere effort for cooperation to show. For more than a generation it was faithfully employed. It was cordially supported by the more local missionary societies of the older states, and determined the action of the "American Home Mission-

ary Society," when that was organized on a national scale in 1826. Under it a large portion of what are now strong churches of western New York, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois were founded.

Time, however, made evident certain factors which were not in the view of those who formulated the "Plan of Union." They had in mind frontier conditions, but the regions where these churches were planted soon grew strong in population, influence, and local consciousness. What was adapted to nascent communities proved less suitable for established and self-sufficient commonwealths. Yet what they could least have anticipated was a growth of denominational consciousness, that rendered the situation by 1835 very different from what it was in 1801. This consciousness had many roots. It has been pointed out that all along there was a Scottish-Irish element in the Presbyterian Church which looked askance at all that was English, whether so by origin or derivation. This element was tenaciously conservative in doctrine and polity. It had been strongly reenforced by the growth of Presbyterianism in the South, where no plan of union was in force. Moreover, western Pennsylvania and the adjacent regions were developing a marked missionary and educational quickening. There was not a little in the theological discussions of New England, even in the line of strictest Edwardean descent from Bellamy to Taylor, with their various "improvements" on traditional Calvinism, to arouse the distrust of extreme Presbyterian conservatives. These "improvements" had their champions among Presbyterians who traced their spiritual, and often their physical, ancestry to New England. Now forgotten controversies regarding the extent of the atonement, the nature of imputation, and the divine purpose in the permission of sin, led to trials for heresy which increased the tension. And the Congregationalists were not without their criticisms of the results of the "Plan of Union." A growing denominational conscious-

ness claimed, probably justly, that a majority of the churches formed under it ultimately preferred Presbyterian to Congregational affiliations.

The breach came in 1837. The control of the Presbyterian General Assembly had been for some time in dispute, but that year the conservatives had a majority. They used their power. The "Plan of Union" was repudiated by a narrow vote of 129 to 123; several synods composed largely of churches formed under it were excluded from the Presbyterian Church, and the American Home Missionary Society was condemned. Such a wholesale overturn, by so close a vote, could result only in division. The Presbyterian Church was rent into "Old School" and "New School" denominations. The "New School" still adhered to the "Plan of Union" and cooperated in missionary labors at home and abroad with the Congregationalists. Yet the growing denominational consciousness of the Congregationalists was rendering even this cooperation difficult, and at the Albany Convention in 1852 they, too, withdrew. The "Plan of Union" was now at an end, for not even the happy reunion of the sundered "Old School" and "New School" divisions of Presbyterianism, in 1870, awoke any desire to renew it.

With the failure of the plan terminated one of the most promising efforts ever made in the United States to associate two great religious denominations in a common enterprise of evangelization. Estimates of its worth will vary with denominational prepossessions. It is evident, however, that it was not so wrought out as to adapt it to permanent conditions, however fitted to the temporary exigencies of frontier life. It is also clear that denominational assertiveness, though absent from the minds of those who formulated the plan, had not so permanently diminished in the participating bodies as a whole as to make its permanent success possible. Yet that it did much for the development of the Protestantism of the older Middle West there can be no question.

2. *The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as a Cooperative Enterprise*

The "Plan of Union" of 1801, in accordance with which the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians undertook to cooperate in carrying the Gospel to the settlers of the then new West, was a conspicuous illustration of missionary interest at the beginning of the last century. So also were the even earlier efforts that were made at Christianizing the American Indians, carried on by John Eliot and the Mayhews as early as 1646, and subsequently by David Brainerd, David Seisberger, and many others, culminating at the end of the eighteenth century in such organizations for this purpose as the New York Society, organized in 1796 by members of the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Reformed Dutch Churches.

So although missionary work across the seas had hardly been more than thought of in 1800, it needed but information and example to turn a portion of the existing missionary impulse toward the heathenism abroad. That fresh impulse was furnished to the United States by the contagious example of Great Britain, where the zeal of William Carey had resulted in 1792 in the formation of the Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. That had been followed in 1795 by the creation of the London Missionary Society, through the united efforts of Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Four years later the Church Missionary Society came into being. News of these significant efforts and accounts of their early labors crossed the Atlantic, and found eager readers in the United States. It was inevitable that zeal for foreign missions should before long be awakened in America.

Yet at first foreign missions was a cause that did not appeal to the majority of the Christian denominations as a whole. The small Moravian body had been dedicated to missions since the time of Zinzendorf, but it was an

exception. The missionary obligation as incumbent on the whole Church, or whole denominational sections of the Church, was not yet felt. The appeal of missions was at first to those interested. The cause seemed to demand unusual faith, as well as more than customary sacrifice. Missions were too remote, the people to whom they ministered too strange and too unknown, to force the sense of duty upon the Church as a whole. A process of education before these results could be achieved was almost everywhere needed.

So it came about that when the Massachusetts General Association of Congregational ministers, meeting in Bradford in 1810, gave favorable hearing to the appeal of Judson, Nott, Mills, and Newell, then students in the recently formed Andover Theological Seminary, to be sent as missionaries, it authorized not an appeal to the churches grouped in denominational lines but the organization of an American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, naming in the first instance five from Massachusetts and four from Connecticut, who should enlist those interested, find ways and means for the work, and superintend it. Yet it was thought at first that the cause could be best furthered by a similar organization among Presbyterians. With this object in view the Commissioners, at their meeting in 1811, suggested to the Presbyterian General Assembly parallel action. It was at the time of close cooperation between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in home missionary endeavor. The "Plan of Union," already described, had been in apparently successful operation for a decade. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the Presbyterian General Assembly answered the overture in 1812 by cordially offering cooperation, as opportunity offered, in the work of the Board just established:

"As the churches under the care of the Assembly rejoice in the foreign missions organized, or about to be organized, by the American Board of Commissioners, so,

as opportunity favors, they ought to aid them, as they have in a measure already aided them. . . . That, as the business of foreign missions may properly be best managed under the direction of a single Board, so the numerous and extensive engagements of the Assembly, in regard to domestic missions, render it extremely inconvenient, at this time, to take part in the business of foreign missions."

The Board promptly met this offer of cooperation by choosing, in 1812, eight additional commissioners, representative of the Presbyterian sympathizers of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Less definite invitation, but a knowledge that such action would be generally acceptable, led to the choice by the Board of a commissioner from the Associate Reformed (now United Presbyterian) Church in 1813 and in 1815 of one from what was then known as the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America. By the year last named the American Board was clearly a widely recognized interdenominational missionary agency. Even then its constituency was far from inclusive, for the wholly independent American Baptist Missionary Union was founded in 1814, and the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States in 1819. The relations of the Board with Presbyterians were peculiarly intimate. In 1826 the General Assembly, by formal vote, again recommended the Board "to the favorable notice and Christian support of the church and people under our care." Even as late as 1862, the Secretary of the Board, Rufus Anderson, could say that it was designed "for all who should choose to employ it; for individual Christians, churches, denominations, whoever saw fit to act through the agency it had to offer." That, in principle at least, was an instance of extreme interdenominationalism.

Long before the declaration just quoted was penned, however, the separations had begun which were to confine

the American Board practically to the patronage of members of a single communion. One evidence of the remarkable spiritual awakening which was in progress among the conservative Presbyterian forces in western Pennsylvania was the formation by the Synod of Pittsburgh, in 1831, of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. The region in which this new missionary body came into existence was the focus of that opposition to all New England modifications of traditional Presbyterian doctrine and polity, the center of what may be called the Scottish-Irish tradition, out of which the "Old School" party in the Presbyterian Church was to come. That element triumphed, as has already been noted, in the General Assembly of 1837, with the result that the Presbyterian Church was rent in twain. The victorious "Old School" party, opposed to all association with New England and its alleged doctrinal laxity, declared against the American Home Missionary Society as "exceedingly injurious to the peace and purity of the Presbyterian Church," and withdrew, as far as it could, the support of the Christians under its charge from the American Board.

Yet a far nobler motive played a large part in the transaction. The sense of missionary obligation had markedly increased in a generation. One of the contentions of the new Western Foreign Missionary Society had been that missionary effort is the duty not of interested individuals and congregations alone, but of the whole Church as such; and, being so, should have direct and responsible denominational supervision and support. It was undoubtedly a step in the progress of the sense of missionary obligation. The "Old School" Assembly, therefore, promptly adopted the Western Foreign Missionary Society as its denominational agency, putting it under the charge of the Assembly and renaming it the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. On the other hand the "New School" wing of divided

Presbyterianism continued its previous cooperative relations with the American Board.

To a similar growth of the inclusive sense of missionary obligation was due the separation of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church from the American Board. Its relations had never been quite as intimate as those of the Presbyterians, though it contributed the president of the Board from 1841 to 1857 in the person of the honored Theodore Frelinghuysen. The efforts of the Dutch Church, though superintended by the American Board, had been concentrated on a small group of missions largely manned by its own sons. By 1857 the feeling had grown, as expressed by the General Synod of that Church, that it is "the duty of the Church, in her distinctive capacity as such, to take charge of these missions." The result was an amicable withdrawal from cooperation with the American Board, and the organization of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed (Dutch) Church.

Thus gradually deprived of important sections of its constituency, the American Board continued the joint missionary agency of the Congregational and "New School" Presbyterian Churches. The reunion in 1870 of the two wings of divided Presbyterianism led to the friendly withdrawal of the latter. The "New School," as one of the conditions of reunion, gave its allegiance to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. Yet individual Presbyterians continue their support of the American Board to the present, and they furnished a vice-president to the Board as recently as 1897-1900. Thus reduced practically to a Congregational constituency, the growth of the sense of universal missionary obligation in the Congregational Churches as elsewhere has led the Board, without altering its legal form, to attempt closer relationship to the churches as such, by allowing their representative bodies an ever increasing share in the nomination of commissioners or,

as they are usually termed, "corporate members." The process was completed by the acceptance by the Board of the new constitution approved by the National Council of the Congregational Churches in 1913, by which the vast majority of the voting membership in the American Board are now the representatives chosen by the churches as their delegates to the National Council itself. The ancient independent society has thus become fully the agent of and responsible to the Congregational Churches.

The story of this failure of a cooperative interdenominational agency to maintain its original status is not at all discreditable, for, as has been seen, the reasons for most of the successive withdrawals which have marked its history have been a growing conviction of the universality of the missionary obligation as a duty of all the churches. Present attempts at cooperation must fully recognize this change. They cannot be associations simply of those, many or few, who are interested in the cause, for the cause has become that of the churches as a whole. The question now is whether the time has not come for a united effort, based not on the voluntary efforts of individuals of various churches but on the official action of the denominations themselves.[1]

3. *Cooperation in the American Bible Society*

While the story of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is that of a cooperating agency of several Christian bodies becoming, by successive withdrawals, the missionary instrumentality of a single denomination, the history of the American Bible Society exhibits association in Christian effort continuing to the present. As in the development of organized missionary activity, so in the formation of Bible societies, English example was powerfully influential. Not a little

[1]The influence of the work on the foreign field itself upon the movement toward union will be considered in a subsequent part of this chapter.

was achieved in the eighteenth century in furthering the circulation of the Bible by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, and the Naval and Military Bible Society, organized in 1780. Of far greater importance was the establishment in London in 1804 of the British and Foreign Bible Society, an interdenominational body whose work has gone forth in ever increasing measure to the present.

The fame of the British and Foreign Bible Society soon led to similar efforts in the United States, though these were at first local in their fields. The earliest to come into being was the Philadelphia Bible Society, formed in 1808. In May, 1809, Connecticut caught the contagion; in July of the same year Massachusetts followed; New York in November, and New Jersey in December. The roll of similar organizations had passed one hundred by 1815. It is evident, however, that much as these local organizations could do to promote the circulation of the Scriptures, the publication of the Bible in the quantities demanded by such a circulation was beyond the means of any but the most fortunate. Their local scope made no adequate provision for the needs of the newly settled portions of the country. It is clear, also, that the publication of the Scriptures in the languages of the mission fields would have been beyond the powers of local societies. Nothing smaller than a general Bible society could accomplish these results. So it came about that, chiefly through the zeal of Elias Boudinot, President of the New Jersey Bible Society, and in the face of some opposition from the stronger local societies, the American Bible Society came into being in New York in May, 1816. Delegates from thirty-one local societies participated in its foundation, among them adherents of the Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Friends, Reformed, and Presbyterian Churches. It was speedily widely recognized as an undenominational agency to which the various local societies became auxil-

iary, though some were slow in so doing, the latest conspicuous local body to become thus affiliated being the Philadelphia Society, which maintained its independence till 1839. Some criticism of an undenominational enterprise was heard, but the American Bible Society soon won well-nigh universal Protestant approval.

At first the Society issued Bibles in English, French, German, and Spanish, feeling that its prime obligations were to residents of North and South America, but its constitution pledged assistance to heathen lands, and the Society was not ten years old before, like its British prototype, it was assisting in the publication of missionary translations. Out of this extension of its work its only considerable schism grew. Baptists had been from the first cordial supporters of the Bible Society. The aid of the Society was sought, in 1835, in printing a translation of the Bible made by Baptist missionaries into Bengali, in which the word "baptize" had been rendered by the equivalent of "immerse." The Society refused to sanction the grant as divisive. The result was the withdrawal of many Baptists from the American Bible Society and the organization by them, in 1837, of the American and Foreign Bible Society. The seceding organization was in turn rent, in 1850, over the question whether revision should extend to English versions. Those favoring the latter course organized the American Bible Union. These Baptist societies had a checkered career, and, in 1883, their work was absorbed by the American Baptist Missionary Union and the American Baptist Publication Society. Yet not all Baptists deserted the American Bible Society, and that body has always been ready to aid Baptists in work at home and abroad.[3] In practically all of the other denominations no effort has been made to establish agencies for the circulation of the Scriptures.

[3]It may be noted that the present president of the American Bible Society is a Baptist.

The American Bible Society has been included in the official benevolences of the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches, both Northern and Southern, for many decades and has become their official or semi-official organ in this field. More recently it has also become an accepted benevolence of other denominations, including the Reformed Church in America, the Reformed Church in the United States, the Congregational Churches, the Church of the Brethren, and the Methodist Protestant Church.

Although the American Bible Society thus stands as a great interdenominational agency, holding the adherence of the greater part of Protestant American Christianity, its fate might easily have been like that of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A doctrinal test led to a serious schism. That it maintains an interdenominational character would seem to be due to the facts that its circulation of the Scriptures without note or comment has aroused no question of doctrinal bias in any great American Protestant communion save one; that its labors have been of equal usefulness to nearly all churches; and that by its resources it has developed an economy in the costs of its work that no denominational agency could surpass.

4. *The Rise of the Christian Denomination (Disciples) as an Effort to Secure Organic Union*

Thomas Campbell, the founder of the Disciples, was a minister of the Secession Presbyterian Church of the north of Ireland, who emigrated to western Pennsylvania in 1807 and connected himself with the Secession Presbytery of Chartiers. In this region of intense sectarian rivalries Campbell, whose attitude was broadly sympathetic, soon ran counter to the general feeling by inviting Christians somewhat widely to the Lord's Supper. His action was given censure by the Presbytery of Chartiers, which an appeal to the Associate Synod did

not remove. Campbell therefore withdrew and was soon laboring independently in western Pennsylvania, proclaiming as his principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." It was not a new denomination that he had in mind, but a union of all willing Christians by a return to the principles and practices of the apostolic Church. On August 17, 1809, Thomas Campbell and his sympathizers founded "The Christian Association of Washington," so named from the county of their principal residence in Pennsylvania. For this Association Thomas Campbell wrote the "Declaration and Address," which has ever since been regarded as the fundamental document of the Disciples' movement. It affirmed that "nothing ought to be inculcated upon Christians as articles of faith, nor required of them as terms of communion, but what is expressly taught and enjoined upon them in the Word of God."

While Thomas Campbell was printing this document, his son, Alexander, was on the ocean. On his arrival in October, 1809, he threw himself into hearty support of his father's movement, and with such ability that until his death in 1866 he was its most conspicuous leader. The elder Campbell now applied to the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburgh for recognition of the principles enunciated in the "Declaration and Address." This was refused and, therefore, in spite of their undenominational intentions, he and his associates formed a church in Bush Run, Pennsylvania, in May, 1811. It began at once the observance of the Lord's Supper every Sunday. In the minds of some of the members doubts as to the validity of infant baptism and sprinkling speedily arose, and by July of the same year Thomas Campbell was practicing immersion. In June, 1812, he and his son and their families were immersed. The original "Christian Association of Washington" was divided on the issue. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that in 1813 the Bush

Run church became a member of the Redstone Association of Baptist Churches.

The Campbells and their friends, however, found themselves speedily in disagreement with the majority of the Baptists. While refusing to be classed as Calvinists or Arminians, they found Calvinism characteristic of the Baptist Churches. They were disposed to give less weight to the Old Testament as a guide for Christian conduct than were their Baptist neighbors. Though essentially Trinitarian, the Campbells' refusal to employ any but Scriptural expressions regarding the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, led to criticism. Their sharpest dispute with the Baptists was in regard to the significance of baptism itself and its place in the divine plan of redemption. To the Baptists it was a pledge of loyalty and a privilege of the already regenerated and pardoned sinner. To the Campbells it was part of the divinely appointed condition of forgiveness and, with the antecedent confession of faith in Christ, constituted an essential part of a true regeneration. Under circumstances of increasing friction the Campbells and some of their associates obtained dismission from the Bush Run church in 1823, and organized a new church in Wellsburg, West Virginia, which was received into the Mahoning Baptist Association of Ohio. This action put them beyond the reach of the Redstone Baptist Association. The separation of the Disciples and the Baptists was a gradual and informal matter and may be considered as completed when the Mahoning Association, already largely permeated with the new views, though against the personal wish of Alexander Campbell, gave up its organization on account of want of scriptural warrant for such unions.

These separations were compensated for by a considerable union. The great revivals in Kentucky at the dawn of the nineteenth century had been marked by much restiveness under older creedal and educational limitations. The needs of the time seemed to many to demand the

service of preachers of power, whether technically educated or not, and an insistence in public appeal on a human ability to respond to the call of the Gospel that seemed to the old Calvinism Arminian. Both tendencies were resisted especially by the Presbyterianism of the older type. Among those greatly moved by the Kentucky revival was a Presbyterian minister, Barton Warren Stone, then pastor at Cane Ridge. Out of the general discussions then engendered the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was a little later to arise. Stone was to move, however, in another direction. One of his revivalistic ministerial associates having been censured by the local presbytery for departure from the Westminster Confession, in 1801, he, with Stone and several brother ministers, protested and raised the question of the authority of all human creeds, organizing the short-lived Springfield Presbytery. They soon went further under Stone's leadership. In 1804, he organized a church in Cane Ridge having the Bible as its only creed and taking "Christian" as its only name. The movement grew, though most of the original leaders except Stone fell away. It had not the strength of the movement initiated by the Campbells. But in 1832 Alexander Campbell and Stone came into association. The two streams, though not technically united, now practically flowed together. Stone preferred the name "Christian," Campbell "Disciple." Both have since been used largely interchangeably.[2]

With this association the Disciples may fairly be said to have been launched as a denomination. They have had a marvelous growth and are a factor of great and increasing importance in American religious life. It is but fair to say that at all times in their history they would repudiate the denominational ascription. In their own

[2]The use of the term "Christian" to designate the Disciples should not be confused with its application to the separate denominational body known as the American Christian Convention.

thought they have always been both a protest against sectarianism and a union on the basis of a return to simple and apostolic Christianity, in which all who hold the Christian name should follow them.

There can be no doubt as to the sincerity and purity of purpose which animated the founders of the Disciples' movement. They were worthy of all respect. They believed that in literal adherence to biblical teaching and example the solution of all ecclesiastical discussion is to be found. What their movement almost immediately revealed, and their history has constantly illustrated, is that the supposedly clear teachings of the Bible are susceptible of most various and antagonistic interpretations, in which men of equal honesty of intention will widely disagree.

II. Foreign Missions and Christian Unity

In no phase of the Church's work have there been greater incentives to cooperation and union than in foreign missions. In proportion as the Church has come to appreciate the greatness of its missionary task has it become conscious of an underlying unity. With this has come a new sense of the need for an effective embodiment of that unity in external form, for it is seen to be impossible for a divided Church to Christianize the world.

When the Church awoke to its obligation to give the Gospel to the world and undertook to send out missionaries for that purpose, denominationalism was extended to the foreign field. This could hardly have been otherwise. Each communion naturally took it for granted that the churches which its representatives were to establish should be identical with its own. The missionary, as a matter of course, worked along the lines in which he had been trained and built up the new churches on the model with which he was familiar. The inevitable consequence was that the sectarian divisions of Christendom were reproduced in the Orient.

During the earlier period of missionary endeavor no great harm resulted. The missionaries were so few in number and so widely scattered that there was little overlapping. In many great areas only one church was represented. The problem of denominational adjustments did not arise until the work had grown to such an extent that missionaries and churches on the foreign field came into close contact with one another.

That time has long been here. There are today no fewer than 350 foreign missionary boards and societies at work, with more than 24,000 missionaries on the field. There are 93 boards at work in China, 46 in Japan, 101 in India. In most of the large cities many denominations are carrying on their efforts side by side. Tokyo and Shanghai have over 300 missionaries each. In Madras there are 125; in Calcutta 185. Under such circumstances the question of unity is a vital one. In many places overlapping and duplication of effort are well nigh inevitable, while other great areas are entirely unoccupied.

The divisions of Western Christianity, moreover, are largely meaningless to the Christians of the East. Differences that arose out of a past history of which Chinese, Japanese, and Indian Christians know nothing cannot but be hopelessly confusing and stand in the way of the development of strong, united indigenous churches of their own. So long as the unity of Christianity is thus obscured, it cannot make the strongest impression upon the non-Christian world. There is a growing conviction, therefore, that the task of building up the Kingdom of God in all the earth can never be accomplished until the Church addresses itself to the problem in a united way.

The incentive to cooperation and union on the foreign field is not merely a desire for administrative efficiency. There is also a keener realization than in the West that there is nothing fundamental to keep the churches apart. It is easier to discern what the vital tenets of Christianity are when we are in the midst of populations

that do not know Christ at all. When we find ourselves, not among Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans, but among Hindus, Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Animists, some things that formerly seemed important shrink into relative insignificance, while others expand into majestic proportions. The essential and saving truths of our faith are found to be not in terms of denominational differences but in terms of Christianity contrasted with the other faiths of mankind. So, as a matter of fact, most missionaries, while accepting the tenets of their respective communions, do preach a common Gospel which practically transcends all sectarian barriers. We find, then, on the foreign field precisely what we might expect—a definite and unmistakable tendency toward cooperation and union. Particularly since the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 progress has been nothing less than phenomenal. In as brief a compass as possible we shall try to indicate what has been happening.

1. *Cooperation in Missionary Work*

In cooperative undertakings of various kinds in local communities this spirit of unity has found vigorous expression. Christian educational institutions have offered a particularly wide field for union efforts. Clearly there is no sufficient reason for three or four denominational colleges in one city when the whole number of pupils could be educated more efficiently in one. Especially after governments began to establish amply equipped institutions was it necessary that the Christian institutions should have better facilities than denominational schools could usually give. In China alone there are over twenty educational institutions under interdenominational control, including the five union universities in Peking, Nanking, Tsinan-fu, Chengtu, and Foochow. In India there are a score. In Latin America, where at the time of the Panama Congress in 1916 there was not a single union institution, there are today no fewer than twenty-two.

In Shantung University there is a remarkable instance of a union even of the High Church Anglican Mission with the Northern, Southern, and Canadian Presbyterians, the English Baptists, the English and American Congregationalists, and the Lutherans. The Christian College for Women in Madras represents a dozen missions. The new Women's Christian University in Tokyo is under the joint direction of Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Reformed, Congregational, and Disciples boards. And all these are but striking illustrations of a host of others. In general it may be said that union in higher educational work has become the established policy of practically all leading missionary societies. Even interdenominational theological instruction, begun about fifteen years ago, has been found to be entirely practicable. There are interdenominational theological seminaries or training schools for Christian workers in Manila, Seoul, Peking, Nanking, Canton, Shantung, Fukien, Bangalore, Mexico, Porto Rico, Chile, and Brazil. In one or more of these institutions Northern, Southern, and English Methodists, Northern, Southern, Canadian, and Scotch Presbyterians, English and American Congregationalists, Disciples, the Church of England, English and American Baptists, Reformed, Lutherans, United Brethren, and Friends participate.

In medical work union effort is likewise common. In various cities there are union hospitals and medical colleges. The medical college at Tsinan-fu, for example, represents three bodies of Presbyterians, the English Baptists, and English Wesleyans. The new medical school for women at Vellore, South India, is jointly supported and controlled by twelve British and American societies. The Severance Medical College and Hospital in Seoul is the medical center for practically all the missions in the southern part of Korea.

In literary work the American Bible Society and the

Christian Literature Societies of Japan and China carry on significant united efforts. In Korea the Korean Religious Book and Tract Society is the agency of all the missions. In Latin America union book depositories, publishing houses, and journals have been developed in several of the leading cities.

Probably the most far-reaching line of cooperation of all is the work of the so-called Continuation Committees. In all the continuation conferences held in the Orient in 1912-1913, as a result of the Edinburgh Conference, the need for greater cooperation and unity was urged, and in some of the larger fields definite agencies for inter-mission conference and cooperation were formed. In India the National Missionary Council and Provincial Councils were established. As a result valuable surveys have been made and common counsel taken toward public questions affecting all the missions, such as temperance and education, including the question of the conscience clause. Principles of comity have been developed and the activities of the various agencies more closely coordinated in many ways. During the war it was recognized as the agency with which the Government would deal in regard to missionaries of alien nationality. The National Council has recently been making a survey of mission problems and work which surpasses anything yet undertaken. In China the Continuation Committee is made up in a less official way, being composed of individuals (one-third of them Chinese) from various missions. As in India, it studies common problems from the standpoint of the work as a whole, promotes cooperation in educational, literary, evangelistic, and medical work, and carries on surveys. It has been making valuable studies of the right attitude for the Church on such issues as polygamy, ancestor worship, and mission organization, and serves also as a needed link between the home base and the field. In Japan the Continuation Committee is made up by the appointment of eight persons by the Federa-

tion of Japanese Churches, eight by the Conference of Federated Missions, and eight others designated by the sixteen thus chosen. Its special significance is in its thus bringing the Japanese churches and the missions into a close relationship in promoting evangelism and making surveys of social conditions. The Conference of Federated Missions, just referred to, is also an important agency of cooperation in Japan. It embraces practically all the Protestant missions except the Anglican. It established the Christian Literature Society, publishes the *Japan Evangelist* and the Year Book known as "The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire." More recently in Latin America several interdenominational committees have resulted from the Panama Congress, including the Committee on Cooperation in Mexico, the Committee on Conference in Cuba, and the Committee on Cooperation in Brazil. All these are related to a central body, the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, representing all the boards carrying on work in these fields. In general it may be said of all these Continuation Committees that their functions are advisory, their authority resting on their experience and their intrinsic value. They provide a most valuable central organization which can speak for the missionary movement in a field as a whole and study its common problems.

Division of territory is an expedient which has been widely adopted to minimize the evils of denominationalism in the interest of increased efficiency. The adjustment in the Philippine Islands affords one of the earliest examples of a carefully worked out plan. As soon as Commodore Dewey's victory was announced in 1898 one of the missionary societies in New York sent out a call for a conference of all societies contemplating work in the Islands, with a view to securing the most effective distribution of work. For the first time in history, representatives of various boards before occupying a new field sat down fraternally to consider how it could be

done to the best advantage. Work was begun before the plan was initiated, but eventually "The Evangelical Union of the Philippines" was organized, by which Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and United Brethren were assigned distinct fields, so that in each place only one church is being developed and a united front is presented to the people.

In northern China, after the destruction of many mission plants by the Boxer uprising, two missions reached an agreement which assigned to one mission that portion of the city of Peking and its suburbs north of the Forbidden City, together with three counties north and east, and assigned to the other mission a similar area in a different part of Peking and its adjacent country. Similar adjustments were made elsewhere in China, and an all-China conference of missionaries at Shanghai in 1900 voted that, while ports and cities of prefectural rank should not be considered the exclusive field of any one board, as they are usually strategic bases for outlying regions, in other cities it should be the rule not to enter fields where other communions were already established. In India also extensive areas have been mapped out to prevent overlapping. By one adjustment, effected in 1913, the three districts of Etah, Manipuri, and Furrukabad were given over to the Presbyterian Mission, the Methodists, who were the later body to enter these districts, transferring 10,000 baptized Christians to it and being assigned in turn thirty-five villages in contiguous districts. Korea and Madagascar have likewise been divided into spheres of influence, and there are many other illustrations of the same practice.[1] In Mexico a year ago the final consummation of territorial allotments was reached, resulting in almost the remaking of the

[1] Further illustrations can be found in the Report of Commission VIII to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, in annual reports of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, and in the annual surveys in the *International Review of Missions*.

missionary map of the country, with a view to eliminating overlapping and making possible the occupation of new fields.

2. *Building Up a United Church in Foreign Lands.*

Such territorial adjustments are valuable practical expedients in the midst of our present divisions, and by promoting mutual understanding may be steps towards a real union. They prepare the way for it by virtually assuming the equality of the churches and an identity of essential teaching. Obviously, however, such a division of territory cannot be regarded as in itself a solution of the problem presented by denominationalism in the foreign field. The dividing of Christians geographically into separate bodies may mean the development of sectional feeling and provincialism and a consequent serious sacrifice of national unity.

The inadequacy of territorial adjustments as more than a temporary solution has led to the organizing of several federations of churches on the foreign field. The Federation of Churches in Japan, formed in 1911, is an outstanding example. It now comprises twenty-four communions and includes four-fifths of the Protestant Christians. Its purpose is "to secure united action for the spread of the Gospel, for increase of friendly relations and of general interest in Christianity, to insure that the members stand together for the general good when special occasions arise." A Federation of Christian Churches in India, growing out of a conference in 1909, includes all the Methodist, Presbyterian, and South India United Churches, the Missions of the Friends and Disciples of Christ, and the American Marathi Mission (Congregational). Its object is declared to be "to attain a more perfect manifestation of the unity of His disciples for which the Redeemer prayed, by fostering and encouraging the sentiment and practice of union." The federating churches "agree to recognize each other's discipline and

to welcome members of other federating churches to Christian fellowship and communion." China has several provincial councils. Korea has a Federal Council of Missions. Africa and Madagascar have several district federations. In fact, almost every important field has one or more such organizations, which, while having no ecclesiastical or legislative power, exert considerable influence.

But the movement toward unity has gone further than local cooperation in educational and medical work, general division of territory, or federation. Organic unions of denominations have in several instances been effected. The Methodist Church in Japan, established in 1907, includes all branches of Methodism. The Church of Christ in Japan has long been made up of six Presbyterian and Reformed communions. The English, Canadian, and American branches of the Anglican Church have been united in China, India, and Japan. So also have the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in varying degrees in India, China, Korea, Mexico, and Brazil. In China the Federal Council of the twelve churches of the Presbyterian order, established in 1907, has now resolved itself into a provisional General Assembly. The Lutherans in India are united. In China the Lutheran missions of the United States, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Germany are now considering a definite "Constitution of the Lutheran Church of China."

Even in uniting different denominational groups progress has been made, although in many cases the consummation of present tendencies lies in the future. In Japan as early as 1872 a convention of Protestant missionaries adopted a resolution agreeing to use their influence "to secure as far as possible identity of name and organization in the native churches." In 1887-1889 a more persistent effort was made to unite the Congregational and Presbyterian groups of Japanese churches. Neither of these efforts, however, came to fruition, and the lines of

denominational cleavage among the missionaries were perpetuated among the Japanese, although a strong desire for union still prevails.

In China several local unions have been formed, one of the most striking being that at Tsinan-fu between the English Baptists and the American Presbyterians, begun in 1906. An agreement provides:

"That there be one united Protestant church for the whole Tsinan-fu city and suburbs . . . that entrance to the church shall be by either of the recognized modes of baptism at the option of the candidate . . . that the Union Church shall be affiliated with the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches in the following manner:

1. That delegates be sent to Tsinan-fu Presbytery and Baptist Union with voting powers, provided these bodies are willing so to receive them.

2. That the spiritual affairs of the church shall be administered by a Council consisting of the pastor and other church officers and, in addition, two ordained ministers, one appointed by the Tsinan-fu Presbytery and the other by the Baptist Union.

3. That cases of appeal shall be referred for decision to a commission to be appointed by the Presbytery of Tsinan-fu and the Baptist Union.

4. That statistics of the Union Church be reported to the Tsinan-fu Presbytery and the Baptist Union."

A significant organic union reaching over a large area of the Presbyterian and the Congregational Churches in South Fukien was decided upon in 1918. The churches established by the missions of the Reformed Church in America and the English Presbyterian Church have from the beginning been united in an independent Chinese church, with a presbyterian form of government. The new union will result in the inclusion of about 8,000 communicants of the three denominations in one united church.

The Centenary Missionary Conference in Shanghai in 1907 declared: "In planting the Church of Christ on

Chinese soil, we desire only to plant one Church." In the same year the National Council of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of China expressed the "earnest desire that all branches of the Church of Christ in China may ultimately come together . . . in the manifested unity of the body of Christ on earth." In April, 1918, a definite step in that direction was taken when a group of Congregationalists from both American and British societies were sent by their bodies to the Provisional General Assembly of the churches of the presbyterian order to express a desire for federation with them, the object being "such comparison of views and adjustment of practice as shall prepare the way for ultimate organic union." A doctrinal basis and plan of union are now under consideration.

In India the South India United Church was formed in 1908 by a union of the missionaries and Indian Christians of missions of the American Board (Congregational), the London Missionary Society (Congregational), the Reformed Church in America, and the United Free Church of Scotland. The declared object of the union was "to bind the churches together into one body with a view to developing a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Indian Church, which shall present a united living testimony, and worthily represent to the world the Christian ideal." A constitution was adopted which included a confession of faith and provision for administration through local churches, district councils, and a General Assembly. Thirty thousand Christians are now included in this church. So satisfactorily has this union stood the test of time that a similar union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Western India has been proposed.

Within the past year a movement even more far-reaching has begun in India. It contemplates nothing less than the organic union of the three leading churches of South India—the Anglican, the South Indian United (already

including Congregational, Reformed, and Presbyterian bodies), and the Syrian.[4] The plan grew out of a conference of Indian Christian ministers at Tranquebar in May, 1919. The leaders of the three bodies have unofficially agreed upon forming a truly Indian Church, in which the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal polities shall be united into one and which will represent the three great divisions of Christianity—the Western Church, the Eastern Church, and the Free Protestant Churches. If the union should be consummated it would be the first time since the Reformation that the breach between the episcopal and the non-episcopal churches has been spanned, and the first time since the division between the East and the West in the eleventh century that bodies related to these two great branches of the Church have ever come together.

The widely discussed Kikuyu Conference in 1912 proposed a scheme for federating Presbyterian, Anglican, and other societies working in British East Africa. Vigorous opposition by the Bishop of Zanzibar led to a reference of the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. At a second conference at Kikuyu in 1919 a proposal for an alliance more along the lines of the Archbishop's conciliatory statement was put forth. A constitution was drawn up by official representatives of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican), the Church of Scotland Mission (Presbyterian), the Africa Inland Mission, the United Methodist Church Mission, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. It recognized that "in existing conditions inter-communion between Episcopal and non-Episcopal communions is not yet possible," but they definitely affirmed the need of a united church and say they will not rest until they all share one ministry. In the meantime,

[4]The Syrian Church in India traces its history back to the fourth century and tradition even says that it was founded by the Apostle Thomas in the first century. During the last century it has been quickened to new life. Bishop Abraham, one of its outstanding leaders, was educated at Wycliffe College, Toronto.

the statement says, the several bodies "resolve to form an alliance with a view to moving along agreed lines of action appropriate to each society so as to prepare the way for further organic unity. To the council thus established each of the constituent bodies is to send representatives, and it proposes to organize united educational, medical, and social work."[5]

These are but a few illustrations of movements toward organic union on mission fields, and new ones are arising almost every year. It is becoming increasingly clear that the divisions of the West, growing out of old controversies of which Eastern Christians know nothing, mean little or nothing to them. What possible reason is there why the Christians of Korea should be separated into Northern Presbyterians and Southern Presbyterians because a civil war was waged in the United States half a century ago? Why should the Christians of India be labeled English Wesleyans, German Lutherans, and American Baptists? Of such negligible significance are our denominational lines to them and of such hindrance to the development of a strong Christian Church, that it is not improbable that the Christians of Asia will unite whether we want them to or not. In a communication from the Marathi Mission of the American Board to the Western India Mission of the Presbyterian Church, proposing an organic union, this striking sentence occurred: "It is absolutely certain that the difference between the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches cannot hold Indian Christians apart, unless foreign missionaries continue to perpetuate such divisions." These Oriental Christians may divide later, but if they do, it should be on issues that are of vital significance to them, not on alien ones imposed from the West.

From what has been said it is clear that the missionary

[5]For a fuller discussion of the movements toward church union now taking place in India, China, and Africa, see the *International Review of Missions*, January, 1920.

body as a whole has developed a unity that is considerably in advance of that which prevails in the lands from which the missionaries come. That this vigorous movement for unity, nourished both by the urgency of the task and by the relative meaninglessness of our divisions on the foreign field, should exert a strong reflex influence on our missionary societies at home, and consequently upon our churches, is a natural consequence. This has manifested itself particularly in conferences on foreign missions that have been of far-reaching effect. The first of such conferences were held in New York and in London as long ago as 1854. In 1900 there was convened in New York the memorable Ecumenical Missionary Conference, the sixth in number, representing forty-eight countries. In 1910 all previous gatherings were eclipsed by the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, unique both for the catholicity of its representation and for the spirit of unity that pervaded it. Its membership was drawn from every communion except the Roman and the Greek Churches. Its work still went on after the Conference through its Continuation Committee, representing no fewer than thirty communions, including Anglicans and Nonconformists, the Established and Free Churches of Scotland, the State and Independent Churches of the Continent, and half a dozen communions in the United States. This was not an ecclesiastical body and had no jurisdiction over the churches, but it has had an unmistakable influence in promoting the spirit of united approach to common tasks. During the war it was inactive, but the so-called "Emergency Committee of Cooperating Missions," temporarily composed of representatives of countries outside the Central Powers, was constituted, in order that there might be a body to correlate plans for dealing with common interests. In June of this year, 1920, the International Missionary Conference at Crans, Switzerland, merged these two committees into a new International

Missionary Committee, whose members are to be elected by the respective national missionary conferences. The Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, held at Panama in 1916, was another epoch-making interdenominational gathering, resulting in the establishment of the permanent Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, which represents all Protestant boards carrying on missionary activities there.

It would not be too much to say that with but one or two exceptions the leading missionary boards are thoroughly committed to a policy of cooperation and that most of them heartily desire one united Church in each of the foreign fields. Commission VIII of the Edinburgh Conference declared that "the divisions within the Christian Church weaken its testimony and confuse the total impression made by Christianity on the minds of the non-Christian peoples. The question necessarily forces itself on those immediately engaged in the work of Christianizing the great nations of the East, whether they are content to plant in these countries a multitude of Christian sects, or whether the real purpose of missionary effort is not rather to plant in each land one united Church of Christ, penetrating and strongly influencing the national life of the people and at the same time bound in the unity of the spirit to the Church throughout the world."

A conference of seventy-five representatives of twenty-eight North American boards having work in China in 1912 adopted the following resolution:

"This Conference desires to assure the missions in the strongest possible manner of its unreserved approval of the efforts to accomplish the union of the Christian Church in China and promises the missions that they will have in such efforts the hearty support of the members of this Conference."

In many permanent missionary organizations at the home base the principle of cooperation is applied. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, founded

in 1893, together with the Committee of Reference and Counsel and such agencies as the Board of Missionary Preparation initiated by it, is the outstanding example. The Missionary Education Movement, founded in 1902, and the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions, established in 1913, also carry on important work, particularly in connection with promoting mission study and preparing literature therefor. On all sides, however, there is a growing recognition that far greater harmony of effort is imperative. The world task before the Church is so enormous and is confronted by such tremendous obstacles that nothing less than the fullest degree of unity that can possibly be attained can ever be counted enough.

And this development affects not only the mission boards at home, but also the churches themselves. We cannot hope that this movement will advance to the degree that all agree to be essential for the foreign field unless the churches at home can keep pace with that development. The Church in China and the Church in America being one Church, we shall not long be able to develop united churches there if we have disunited churches here. The truth of the statement made by Commission VII of the Edinburgh Conference becomes constantly more apparent: "In the matter of unity the mission field is leading the way, but it does not seem that the movement can advance far with safety apart from the cooperation of the Church at home."

II. Religious Education and Christian Unity

The Sunday school movement in America had its beginning in an effort that was regardless of denominational lines. For purposes of historical record it should be regarded as dating from the organization of "The Society for the Institution and Support of First Day or Sunday Schools" in Philadelphia in 1790. The society was a voluntary one, made up of Christians of various churches,

outside of official ecclesiastical sanction. This was followed by the organization of the "New York Sunday School Union" in 1816 and the "Philadelphia Sunday School Union" in 1817. The rapid spread of the movement and the multiplication of "union" societies for its further promotion and support led in 1824 to the founding of the "American Sunday School Union." Its stated objects were "to concentrate the efforts of Sabbath-school associations in different sections of the country; to strengthen the hands of the friends of pious instruction on the Lord's Day; to disseminate useful information; to circulate moral and religious publications in every part of the land; and to endeavor to plant a Sunday school wherever there is a population."

1. *The Development of Cooperation*

Beginning soon after this union effort and thereafter parallel with its development was the growth of denominational organization of Sunday school work. Among the first churches to establish denominational Sunday school societies were the following: Protestant Episcopal (1826), Methodist Episcopal (1827), Congregational (1832), Presbyterian, U. S. A. (1833), and the Northern Baptist Convention (1840). Others followed in rapid succession.

At the initiative of the American Sunday School Union there was held in 1832 the first national convention of Sunday school leaders, which in 1869 became an established triennial feature (since 1914, quadrennial) of the organized cooperative work in this field. Beginning with 1875 these gatherings assumed international scope, and have since been designated International Sunday School Conventions. Parallel with the development of these conventions was that of Sunday school teachers' institutes, dating from 1861 and patterned after similar gatherings of public school teachers. The organization of state and county Sunday school associations began in

1856. The National Convention of 1869 created a permanent Executive Committee, out of which and around which has grown up the larger association which since 1872—the date of the adoption of the International Uniform Sunday School Lessons and the appointment of the International Sunday School Lesson Committee—has been known as the International Sunday School Association.

Both the American Sunday School Union and the International Sunday School Association have been purely voluntary agencies with no organic relationship to the official denominational boards and societies. Strictly speaking, therefore, both organizations should be designated as undenominational rather than interdenominational. Both, however, deserve great credit for pioneer work in Sunday school promotion and extension. The American Sunday School Union has devoted itself principally to the organization of so-called "union" Sunday schools in frontier and out-of-the-way communities, and in supplying these schools with inexpensive lesson helps and other literature. The work of the International and State Associations has been confined principally to the holding of institutes and conventions and to the promotion and administrative supervision of cooperative Sunday school activities in local communities. One other notable service rendered by these voluntary agencies has been the stimulation of more aggressive organization, the rapid development of which during the past two decades has made imperative a closer cooperative relationship between the various denominational Sunday school boards and societies themselves. The Sunday school and religious educational work of all of the leading evangelical denominations in the United States and Canada has for some years been thoroughly organized and the denominational Sunday school organizations and publishing societies are now thoroughly committed to the principle of interdenominational cooperation.

The urgent need for closer official cooperation resulted first in the organization of the Sunday School Editorial Association in 1901, which in 1910 became the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations, the first organization representing the two fundamental principles of, first, denominational autonomy in matters of Sunday school administration and instruction, and, second, direct cooperative control by the denominations of union activities. The importance of the Sunday School Council for all subsequent developments of cooperative work in this field is suggested by the preamble to the Constitution and by the statement of aim:

"Recognizing the responsibility of each denomination, through its properly constituted Sunday school authorities, to direct its own Sunday school work, and believing that much Sunday school effort is common work, therefore, for the sake of economy, educational betterment, and Christian brotherhood, we organize ourselves into a body under the following constitution. . . .

"The object of this organization shall be to advance the Sunday school interests of the cooperating denominations:

(1) By conferring together in matters of common interest.

(2) By giving expression to our common views and decisions.

(3) By cooperative action on matters concerning educational, editorial, missionary, and publishing activities."

During the ten years of its existence the Sunday School Council has been instrumental in the establishment of definite educational standards in Sunday school work covering the items of organization, curriculum, teacher-training, and administrative supervision. It has placed at the disposal of each denominational board and society the experience and programs of the other boards, and has given impulse and direction to the further growth of the cooperative movement in Sunday school work. The personal contacts established through the organized asso-

ciation of denominational Sunday school editors, secretaries, and publishers led promptly to the undertaking of cooperative publishing enterprises through syndication on a large scale. The introduction of the International Graded Sunday School Lessons (1909-1914) and the subsequent rapid development of teacher-training courses and textbooks gave further impetus to such syndication, which has uniformly resulted in improved quality of publications, reduced costs, wider circulations, and a general advance in standards and ideals.

Since the organization of the Council the denominations of the United States and Canada have steadily been drawn closer together in every department of Sunday school work. One by one cooperative activities in this field have been transferred from the supervision of purely voluntary or undenominational organizations and placed under the joint control of the organized Sunday school agencies of the denominations. In 1912 the World's Sunday School Association, until then an independent body (engaged particularly in promoting Sunday school work on the mission fields), changed its constitution so as to admit to its executive committee the official representatives of both Sunday school and missionary boards, the denominational Sunday school representatives being appointed from and by the Sunday School Council. The reorganization of the International Sunday School Lessons Committee upon the same general principles occurred in 1914. During the past four years negotiations have been in progress between the International Sunday School Association and the Sunday School Council, with a view to establishing some effective method of coordinating all cooperative efforts in Sunday school work under a unified plan of overhead supervision which would give to the responsible denominational boards full representation both in planning and executing all union activities, while at the same time conserving the elements of democratic volun-

tary cooperation represented in the plans of organization of the International and State Sunday School Associations.

During the early months of the year 1920 final agreement was reached by the International Sunday School Association and the Sunday School Council with regard to the reorganization of both of these bodies. Their actual reorganization on the basis of the agreement reached was begun at a meeting in Buffalo in June. In accordance with the provisions of this reorganization, the denominational Sunday school boards will hereafter appoint, and have since appointed, half of the members of the Executive Committee of the International Association. The other half will be elected as heretofore by states and provinces. The same division of representation applies to membership in the reorganized state associations, and by implication to county and city associations also. At the same time the Sunday School Council, which heretofore has consisted wholly of the official Sunday school representatives of denominational boards and societies, has now admitted into its membership field representatives of organized Sunday school work, both denominational and interdenominational. This procedure is understood to be a first step towards a complete merging of the two organizations, the Association and the Council, "under a new charter and with a new name." Meanwhile the reorganized Association and Council provide two effective agencies for cooperation, one in the field of Sunday school promotion and extension, the other in the field of intensive development of an educational program for the Sunday school.*

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*Any full consideration of the bearing of the movement for religious education on Christian unity would have to deal with the significant influence of the Religious Education Association. We are here, however, concentrating attention upon the official agencies of the churches. For the work of the Council of Church Boards of Education in the college field, see p. 138 of this report.

2. The Present Necessity for Greater Cooperation.

The significance of these adjustments in organization arises from the fact that they have been deliberately made in the interest of Christian unity and greater efficiency in service. They have been consummated at a time when the churches, after the World War, are all alike facing both a national crisis and a world opportunity in religious education. The preservation and further increase of the moral and spiritual values that the war has set in clearer light depend upon programs and processes of religious education. The American churches have not yet discovered the possibilities inherent in a program of Christian teaching that shall succeed in enlisting the religious purposes and training activities of united Christianity for the aggressive worldwide promotion of Christian democracy, which is the democracy of service. That discovery needs now to be made and a more adequate program of religious education for the new age attempted. In the formulation of such a program and in its execution the Sunday school forces of North America may rightly be expected to lead the way. They can do so adequately only as they are effectively united.

Much has already been accomplished by way of preparation. The principles and ideals of religious nurture and training are gradually becoming fairly well established. The better tools and equipment that are necessary, including materials of instruction, are rapidly gaining recognition and acceptance. The development of the curriculum is proceeding satisfactorily. The type of architecture, housing facilities, and equipment are yielding to the demand for educational efficiency. Trained teachers are increasing in numbers and will soon be considered indispensable. With these gains made, with the entire program of the church school upon a sound religious and educational basis, the larger mission and re-

sponsibility of the Church to the whole community should once more be made a focal point of intelligent effort. Concretely, this will mean a revival of religious nurture in the home. It will mean a new appreciation and a fuller appropriation of the religious values in public school subjects and the opportunities for character formation through the public school. It will mean interchurch cooperation in providing church school facilities with systematic religious instruction for all the children of the community, so distributed with regard to time and place as to make this instruction easily accessible to all. It will mean the prompt extension and supplementing of the work of the Sunday school through week-day classes in religious education. But this approach to the community and this impact upon it cannot be made by the churches separately. A united program is simply indispensable.

The bearing of the foreign missionary enterprise and the Sunday school movement on church unity are only typical of other great phases of the Church's work. The problems of developing a more effective program of evangelism, of enlisting life more adequately in Christian service, of Christianizing our social relations at home, of bringing Christian principles to bear on economic life, of infusing our whole educational system with the religious ideal, of permeating our international relations with the Christian spirit—all these and other tasks that have been increasingly laying hold of the conscience of the Church are challenging us to a degree of united endeavor never yet realized. To the conviction of the inner oneness of the Church of Christ has been added a growing vision that only the outward expression of that unity in the most effective way can meet the world's appalling need.

PART III

THE FUTURE

CHAPTER X

PRINCIPLES WHICH UNDERLIE FURTHER PROGRESS

This committee has been given no commission to outline any plan of church union or of larger Christian cooperation. Its function has been to examine our present situation and the historic background behind it and in this concluding section of its report to draw out such observations and principles as its examination has suggested. Yet we would be untrue to our own conviction and the unique opportunity which this privilege of common study has afforded if we did not add to this general formulation of principles some indication as to the lines along which we believe that the movement for church union must develop in the immediate future and the nature of the steps which need now to be taken. We shall present no program requiring adoption or rejection in detail, but only suggestions as to what such a program should contain and certain considerations which should influence those who are shaping it.

At the outset we desire to record the conviction, which has been formed in us as a result of this investigation, that the movement toward union is an irresistible movement. It may be delayed, it cannot be permanently checked. The historical sections of this study make it clear that the struggle of the Christian spirit to express its inward unity in outward forms of Christian union is as old as Christianity. From the beginning earnest men have been dissatisfied with their divisions and have sought to draw together as one all those who acknowledge Jesus Christ as Lord. The hope of such union is manifestly a deathless hope. Whether or not men have agreed as

to the divine ideal for the Church, or indeed have had any sure conviction as to what that ideal might be, they have still been moved by an irrepressible longing for something that should embody more richly than any experience which they had yet had the prayer of Christ, "that they may all be one." If these men of the ages past were warranted in their continuing hope, surely we are right today in seeking something further than we as yet possess. The situation that we face today is indisputably unstable and transitory. None of us may dogmatize as to the path of future development, but all of us are warranted by the history of Christian thought and by the conditions of our day in looking for some way that shall give larger expression to the true mind of Christ.

But this confidence in the sure development of church unity, however well justified, is not of itself a substitute for clear thinking or earnest effort. Union when it comes will be what we who unite make it. What, then, can we say to describe its character and to define the methods by which it is to be realized?

In what follows we shall consider in succession:

1. The principles which define the nature of the union to be sought.

2. The principles which define the method by which it is to be attained.

3. The conclusions which follow as to some of the next steps to be taken.

I. Principles Which Define the Nature of the Union to Be Sought

1. The union that we seek must be a positive, not a negative, union, that is to say, a union which grows out of definite convictions held in common and definite purposes shared. Nothing can stand or satisfy that is not built on the truth. And the central truth for the Christian is the revelation which God has made of Himself in our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. To the Christian

Jesus Christ is the first and the last, the center of all things. Hence the forms of union for which the spirit of unity is seeking must rest upon definite convictions concerning Him, grow out of real experience of life with Him, and utter themselves in common purposes of unselfish and ministering action in His service. No other principle of union can avail because no other does full justice to the truth. There may be truth in other principles, but if so it is only because such principles are partial expressions of the truth which is in Christ and which He is. The deepest impulse to the larger union for which the Christian spirit is seeking is the necessity of such a union as the condition of a further experience of Christ by the Church and a fuller expression of Christ to the world.

2. It must be a union which is the expression of freedom. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. The Church that would be truly Christian must increase, not abridge, the freedom and power of its members. It is because all our existing forms of organization, whether denominational or cooperative, either contract Christian freedom or provide inadequately for its exercise that the Christian spirit is discontented with them. The fear which is often expressed that new measures or forms of union will hamper freedom and impose restraint is an honorable and just fear, but it needs to be brought unflinchingly to bear also upon all existing institutions. Our denominational organizations can not be exempted from its test. Do they limit Christian fellowship? Do they exclude any whom Christ accepts? Are they narrower than "the communion of the saints," in which all Christians affirm their belief? Is there truth or are there proportions and relations of truth beyond their formularies? If so, are they not found inadequate before the legitimate Christian demand for "perfect liberty," the freedom wherewith Christ would make us free? The American colonies found more freedom, not less, by uniting. That experience may be even more true of the churches.

3. It should be an inclusive, not an exclusive, union. It must recognize and make room for the richness of historic tradition and of religious experience which the various groups of Christian believers can bring. The whole must be as great and rich as any of its parts. More than this, the whole must be greater and richer than any of its parts. And more even than this, the whole must be more than all its parts. The body is more than the mere mathematical or physical total of its members. It has a life which animates all its members while they bring their service to it. It is this fulness of life and power of the whole and complete body which we lack today, and which the movement toward unity is seeking. We must aim, therefore, at comprehension, not at omission and elision. It is an old saying that men are usually right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny. No doubt, it is a saying of limited truthfulness, since every affirmation involves a denial. But it is a saying of substantial truthfulness, nevertheless. Our human affirmations are often half-truths, partial apprehensions, side glimmers. They are not the truth, but only part of it, and what they leave out is another part of it. The full truth is something more than the total of what we affirm and of what those affirm who need to join us and whom we need to join, that together we may be richer than we were apart, and together seek for the truth that is still beyond us all. Whoever holds his truth in Christ is needed in the union which the Christian spirit has ever sought after, bringing his truth with him.

And there is truth in Christ which all whom this union would unite have not yet apprehended and will not apprehend until they "all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a fullgrown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; that we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, in craftiness, after the wiles of error; but

speaking truth in love, may grow up in all things into him, who is the head, even Christ; from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love." There is no principle of exclusion or impoverishment recognized here, but an ideal of common wealth won by common life and united experience and service. Let every company of Christians and every church which bears Christ's name bring in whatever it has and prizes of doctrinal view, of ritual, of devotion, of principle of well-doing. Let it hold it fast; only let it share it in the Christian spirit with all who wish to share it. And still there will be room for new discoveries of the truth and grace and beauty of God in Christ, discoveries which will only then have been made possible.

4. It should be a union, therefore, which makes room within the central organization for lesser but still highly developed unities which can function, within the sphere allotted to them, with the same freedom and responsibility with which the whole functions in its larger sphere. It cannot be too often or too clearly shown that unity is not uniformity. It never has been; it is not now; it will not be in the Church of the future. Unity of spirit and truth actually prevails widely today among Christians. It is found among men of the most diverse names and associations. Even though they disavow one another, their disavowal is vain; for anyone who looks upon them from without perceives that what they have in common is vastly more than that which divides them. But this existing unity does not mean uniformity. And if a Christian unity already exists among men whose religious life expresses itself through different Christian organizations, there would seem to be no reason why the same freedom and diversity may not mark the comprehensive Church of the future. Indeed, it may well prove to be the case that

in the larger union which the Christian spirit seeks there will not only be room for all the varieties of forms and views which are now possible in Christ, but that provision may be made for expressing these varieties in ways which do not involve the narrowing and limiting effect of our present divisions.

We must never forget that whatever losses may have been involved in the past divisions of the Christian Church, there has been on the other hand a compensating and enriching gain. As we look back over history, whether in the Church or in the State, we see a development of alternating tendencies. For a period the movement toward unity prevails, and then for another period the movement toward freedom. But these movements are not ultimately exclusive. Each exists for the other. The periods of separation and of divisive liberty have had as their result the enlargement of the contribution that each group may make to the common and corporate life. The thirteen colonies brought each a distinctive offering to the united national stock. The union which we seek will be rich and essential in proportion as the forces and institutions which will compose it have developed to the utmost the possibilities of the trusts committed to them and bring these to the common store. For that reason the srongest denominational life and energy is to be rejoiced over, if only it conceives itself in terms not of exclusive privilege but of common responsibility. Those who have experienced most will have most to give. This is the law of life and power throughout the Kingdom of God.

5. It should be a union which is based upon the spirit of Christian unity already existing and which grows naturally out of it. It is often said that new experiences of Christian unity will spring from the effort to go beyond our present divisions and to provide new forms of union; but it is equally clear that we shall go forward only as we clearly recognize the spirit of unity already here. The breadth and power of this existing spirit of unity must

be acknowledged. They are recognized by this Committee with deep gratitude and joy. Our own experience in working together is unanswerable evidence to us of the depth and reality of the underlying unity which now prevails among the churches. And this evidence is before everyone's eyes. Let there be a gathering anywhere of clergy or laymen or women from the evangelical churches to consider the testimony or work of the Church in the world today, and no one unacquainted with those who have gathered could tell to which body of Christians each speaker belonged. The body of common Christian doctrine, of common modes of action, of common Christian experience and devotion, of common apologetic, of common practical application of Christianity to human life throughout the world today is so great that it is perfectly true to say that in spirit we are one now. There is room, of course, for a still deeper unity of spirit, but that is not our most pressing lack. Primary among our duties is the duty of providing adequate forms to express the unity which we already possess.

In this attempt, no doubt, we shall encounter difficulties. Nothing is to be gained by ignoring the fact that there are bodies of Christians who are now unwilling to unite with other Christians. Some extend this unwillingness further than others, and decline practically all forms of cooperative action. It must be recognized, also, that some Christians who hold the idea of union define the conditions essential to it in such a way that others are unable to assent to them. Yet all these Christians recognize as in the body of Christ Christians who are not members of their own communions. Are not these two attitudes inconsistent with each other? Is it really a tenable position to regard others as in the body of Christ and yet to refuse to unite with them? Can it be right to demand as necessary to Christian *union* more than is necessary to Christian *unity?* More may be desirable, no doubt. Yet even the present lines of church membership

are so drawn as to include much that is recognized as not fully Christian. If it be true, as all admit, that men can be in Christ and yet be far from perfected, it is equally true that men can be in a church which claims to have all the essential marks and credentials of a church, and yet be far from perfected. Surely, the union which Christians seek ought to correspond as closely as possible to the fundamental Christian facts, and is not the fundamental Christian fact the fact of individual and corporate relationship to Christ, our Lord? And ought not those things only be regarded as fundamental and essential to union which are fundamental and essential to Christian discipleship and to that life in Christ which all are prepared to recognize as true? Of course those who wish more than this must not be prohibited from it in a true and comprehensive Christian union. But can any who have this be rightfully excluded?

We may learn a clear lesson here from the family. Unity prevails there far more fully than in any other part of our social experience. The unity of the family is an indestructible fact. A father cannot unson his son, nor a brother unbrother his brother. Moreover, the family is the fundamental human institution, to which Christianity has given a new sanctity. And the State and the Church, the other two great institutions in the divine order of human society, cohere to the extent that they are able to realize the kind of unity which exists in the Christian family. The deepest element of union within each denomination is the measure in which the denomination embodies the family principle, recognizing the legitimacy of differences in gifts and views but allowing no difference to break the bond of the common life. Why may we not work far more boldly and extensively with this principle? The whole Church is a family, and ought to be conceived as such. We should refuse to recognize division or exclusiveness as anything else than a vain and impossible denial of facts that cannot be altered by refus-

ing to recognize them. How can those who call God Father and who recognize one another's right to do so escape the family implications and obligations of this common prayer?

Such, then, are some of the characteristics of the union which is to be sought. It must be, first, a union which is positive and not negative, founded in loyalty to Christ and in God's revelation in Him. Secondly, it must be a union which is consistent with freedom, a union which conserves the truth for which each of the uniting groups has contended in the past. And to that end it should be, in the third place, an inclusive, not an exclusive union, providing for the variety of interpretation and of experience which we find in the existing churches. It must then, in the fourth place, make room within its central organization for lesser but still highly developed unities, which can function within their own spheres with a large degree of freedom and responsibility. And, finally, whatever union we are to reach must be based upon the spiritual unity already existing and must grow naturally out of it.

Such being the nature of the union to be sought, how is it to be brought about?

II. Principles Which Define the Method to Be Followed

1. If we have correctly defined the character of the union to be sought it is clear, in the first place, that no attempt to solve the problem by approaching it solely from the point of view of the relations *between* the denominations can hope to be successful. There is a parallel process of importance which must go on *within* the existing denominations. They, too, must learn to think and feel and work as one, and to that end they must provide the appropriate organs through which this growing consciousness of denominational unity may find expression in effective common action. In many cases this is not the

situation today. Many denominations are diffusely and inefficiently organized for their own work. The war experience showed how unprepared some of them were for the stress of a sudden emergency. For both missionary and educational work some churches are unprovided either with the requisite machinery, or with adequate ideals of obligation and capacity, or with both. Others do not have such a central agency continuously functioning in the name of the denomination as a whole as could readily cooperate with other denominations. Weak elements like these could only form weak units in a larger union. The union would indeed give them a great deal that they lack, but it would give them more if they brought more as their contribution. Since the whole depends for its strength on the strength of its parts, no union composed of elements which are themselves ineffective can be efficient.

It is true that in the past this strengthening of denominational machinery has too often proved an increased obstacle to Christian cooperation and fellowship. It has tended to make the group more satisfied with its own life and its own achievement, apart from the life of the rest. But once put the individual denomination in its place as part of the one great Church of Christ, and the entire significance of the movement for denominational unity is altered. The motive becomes no longer a seeking of its own growth but the growth of the Kingdom of God. Each communion, then, makes itself strong in order that it may do effectively that part of the whole work which may be assigned to it to do.

2. In the second place, the union to be attained among the denominations must take its departure from whatever cooperation and union already exist, and build definitely on this foundation. There must, of course, be a willingness to discard any part of our present machinery which experience shall show to be unnecessary. But we cannot make progress by ignoring what has already been

achieved. We must, therefore, strengthen the existing agencies for united action wherever they are weak and supply them where they are lacking, whether in the community or in the Church as a whole.

And it is essential to simplify and unify as much as possible the existing agencies of cooperation. We do not mean that there is not room for the richest expression of individual temperaments and ideals of service and duty. Of all the forces in the world Christianity is and should be the most affluent in such varieties of personal and group action. We do mean that the standard cooperative activities, the normal and necessary corporate combinations of Christian endeavor, might wisely be made both more simple and more unified. At the present time many intelligent Christian people are greatly confused. They do not know the differences and the relationships between the interdenominational movements that are seeking church unity by various roads. They do not know the respective spheres of work of various existing cooperative agencies. In some cases these differences and relationships and spheres of work have not been adequately defined. In other cases those who are directly engaged in the movements and agencies concerned may understand them quite clearly, while the Christian public does not.

This difficulty is largely due to the fact that the cooperative movement has been so largely the expression of the voluntary effort of individuals or small groups. It has not as yet back of it the definite and sustained support of the churches themselves, either in men or in money. This situation must be changed. Where agencies of cooperation have been established and accepted by the churches, as is the case of many of those which we have been studying in the present report, it is surely desirable to trust to them as much activity and service as possible. To set up such agencies and not to commit real responsibility to them, to authorize them to operate in certain

fields of service and at the same time to allow the separate organizations which are parties to the cooperation to continue the same full measure of action which they would carry on if there were no agency of cooperation, is simply to multiply machinery and to duplicate motion without increase of economy or efficiency. We ought to discover how much work we can do cooperatively and then do it cooperatively. Our cooperative committees should be trusted to do for us, or rather we should do through them, what we should otherwise have to do alone, but what we can thus save ourselves from doing alone. We shall make long progress if within the next few years we actually commit enlarging tasks to our present cooperative agencies, and if these agencies warrant our trust by doing service for us which we could not do separately.

But such effective responsibility can be secured only if our agencies of cooperative action are made frankly and fairly and officially representative. This principle involves at the present time many limitations which unrepresentative or non-responsible action would escape, but it is the only method of sure and substantial progress. It is true that it is difficult in many movements to calculate a just basis of representation and to create a truly representative character for them. It is even more difficult to go forward rapidly or to seize unforeseen opportunities when the action taken must command approval from a wide and varied and conservative constituency. These difficulties must be candidly recognized and accepted. They are the unavoidable conditions of advance. If we could ignore them we might seem to be building more rapidly for a time, but should inevitably discover that we had been fatally at fault in neglecting the foundations of the structure.

3. Pending the consummation of the larger unity which is the final goal, all lesser unities should be effected by the way. The union of separate families within a single de-

nomination, of groups of closely related denominations, and of philanthropic and missionary agencies in continuation committees and councils is all clear gain. At the present time there are many such projects of union under consideration by cognate or affiliated churches. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are working together upon plans of complete organic union. The Presbyterian and Reformed Churches have before them various plans, some of organic ecclesiastical union, some of federal union, some of union of their missionary agencies. These movements are only illustrative of others. Some who are opposed to schemes of general union favor these unions in kindred denominations. Among those who believe in the ideal of the largest union two views are found. On the one hand are those who disapprove these partial unions, fearing that they will satisfy those who are involved in them and so create a stronger denominational barrier to wider union. On the other hand are those who favor these unions as right in themselves, and as preparing the way for the larger end. It seems to us that the latter is the wise view. Whatever unites men more corporately and more visibly and more truly in Christ appears to us to be good and right. And experience seems to show that progress toward larger union is hindered not by the consummation of these preliminary unions but by their unconcluded discussion. So long as such plans are under discussion but undetermined, the attention of the denomination is naturally absorbed in them and the view prevails that other questions must await their decision. Let all such unions be hastened for their own sake and for the sake of the larger unity still to be.

4. It must be recognized that in the matter of church union as elsewhere the path of knowledge leads through action. It is by working together at the tasks which we all agree are set us by Christ that we shall discover and develop that inner unity of spirit that will make possible

larger changes in organization and polity. Action is always educative. The moment Christian men set out together for the accomplishment of any great Christian tasks they enter upon new illuminations. They begin to see what had not been clear before and new apprehensions lead to new purposes. If any lesson has been taught us clearly by the war it is this. We need to apply what we have learned to the new tasks of peace. We are facing great problems that are manifestly impossible for any of us alone and soluble at all only as we face them together. The task of Christian education in a day when our public education is practically divorced from definite religious content, the task of Christianizing all phases of our social life, the task of fulfilling our missionary responsibility to the non-Christian world and of securing international brotherhood—all these and others are common obligations resting clearly on us all. Definitely to undertake together such indivisible tasks is the obvious pathway of advance toward union.

5. In the meantime certain habits of mind and of temper must be sedulously cultivated—the habit of thinking of others' interests as if they were our own, of trying to enter into the nature of their experience and to see things as they see them, of inculcating in those whom we can influence this catholic and sympathetic spirit and of making place for it in our educational program and in our religious publications; above all, of complete frankness and confidence in our dealing with one another. The end we seek cannot be furthered by anything calculated or politic or reserved or managed. It can be furthered only by candor, unselfishness, sincerity, openness, and absolute good faith. All discussions and projects and arrangements, all movements and associations, must rest and proceed upon perfect honesty and clear understanding. There must be no hidden devices or secret schemes, no smoke-screens under which agreements are stretched beyond the willing purpose of those who entered them, with the re-

sult that men find themselves committed to liabilities of expense or project which they had not accepted but from which they cannot escape. In all our effort we must exercise full good faith toward one another, attributing to others the same honesty of motive of which we are conscious in ourselves and illustrating in all our ecclesiastical, practical, or human relations that higher sense of honor and charity which alone becomes the disciples of Christ.

To this end we should seek to multiply in every possible way our points of contact with one another, not simply as individual Christians, but as organized Christian bodies. The increase of interdenominational acquaintance and friendship and of the oneness of motive, temper, and viewpoint among believers, due to many influences, is leading us onward to a unity of mind and of procedure which often makes the maintenance of our divisions difficult or even anomalous. We should trust more fully this great body of unified life and method which we possess in common. We should provide at once for fuller mutual conference as to our denominational plans and programs. We should all be able to plan more efficiently and sensibly in consequence. Denominational secretiveness and the separatism and isolation of denominational policy are an injury to the body which falls into such courses and to the whole body of Christians, who should act together in full mutual confidence and with the power of one comprehensive plan of action. To do so would abridge no liberties and it would avoid wastes and duplications and immensely increase the power of the impact of Christianity upon the world.

To sum up, then, the method of our approach to the problem of union: We should take our departure from the union which already exists and with that in view should strengthen the existing agencies for united action, whether denominational or interdenominational, so that they may become fully unified, representative, and re-

sponsible. While looking for the consummation of the completer union we desire, we should welcome and promote the effecting of all lesser unions by the way. We should recognize that the way to fuller union is through common action on behalf of the ends upon which we now agree and in the spirit of the unity we now possess. In all our dealings with one another as individuals and as Christian communions we should cultivate frankness, sympathy, and mutual acquaintance, sharing with each other our plans and programs, and to that end should multiply our points of contact, so that misunderstanding may be avoided and that common consciousness be created which shall prove the parent of still closer union in the future.

III. Consequences for the Future

If what we have said above be true, three things at least are necessary in order to make progress toward our goal. We must see clearly what needs to be done; we must provide the agencies for doing it; we must inspire the will to use these agencies with a whole-heartedness and enthusiasm which will guarantee success.

1. First and most important as an influence in promoting union will be a clear vision of the goal for the sake of which union is sought. A comprehensive understanding of the world's need in the light of the resources of the Church as a whole is thus the precondition of any adequate program of united endeavor. This involves, of course, sympathetic study. And the results of such study and survey must be made part of the common consciousness of the Church as a whole. Such a result cannot be attained by the efforts of a limited group of men, however well trained and devoted. All Christians must form the habit of systematic study of all the problems involved in this whole complicated matter of the union of the life and power and experience of the Christian Church. Knowledge and love are the remedy for ignorance and

misunderstanding, and there are few more serious obstacles in our pathway toward fuller unity than the misconceptions which prevail among Christians as to the ideals, experience, and plans of their fellow-Christians. This lack of understanding must be removed and it can be removed only by open-minded study of the facts and by the contacts of Christian fellowship. How this is to be done in detail is not for us to say. It cannot, however, be too strongly insisted that the ideal of a common facing of the world task of the Church, which the Interchurch World Movement proposed, should not be abandoned, but be carried forward to a success that has not yet been attained.

2. Although organization alone cannot accomplish what is needed, it has its necessary place. Four kinds of agencies are now at the disposal of the Church, each of which has an indispensable part to play, in moving toward the goal of unity—the denomination, the interdenominational agency, the affiliated organizations of an undenominational character, and the local church. That each may function to its fullest effectiveness the following steps would seem desirable.

Within each denomination the unifying agencies now in existence should be strengthened, and where they do not exist should be supplied, so that there can be some body which has authority to cooperate with similar bodies in other churches in such common utterances and action as all agree to be necessary. The interdenominational cooperation which now exists as a fact in various agencies should be made explicit, and adopted by each denomination as a definite and fully recognized part of the denomination's program. Between the existing interdenominational organizations there should be conference as to their respective spheres and responsibilities, with a view to building up a single responsible federal council, or other central agency, through which the different interests of the churches should be cleared. This council

should consist of official representatives of the different churches, definitely chosen for the purpose, and in a position to give to the work all the time and thought that may be needed. Their relation to the central authorities of their respective churches should be like that of the liaison officers in the army, whose function it was to interpret the cooperating bodies to one another and to secure unity of plan and procedure. The expenses of this central council should be borne by the cooperating agencies. It should represent the churches on all matters of common interest, except those provided for by such specialized agencies as the Home Missions Council, the Foreign Missions Conference, the Council of Church Boards of Education, the Sunday School Council, and others which are charged with special responsibility in particular spheres. These should be definitely related to the central council, should have representation upon it, and be recognized by it as acting for the churches in the field assigned. For the territory not covered by these agencies, but now occupied by the commissions of the Federal Council, provision should be made by commissions similar to those now in existence, but having more official and representative character, consisting of members appointed for the purpose by the cooperating bodies and financed by them.

While such a central organization works from the center of the movement toward unity, and is the agent through which the united purpose of the churches would find expression as far as developed, it would not necessarily cover the whole field. There would remain a territory to be occupied by voluntary agencies, closely related in sympathy to the central body, and sharing in its counsels from time to time, but retaining a freedom in experiment not possible to it. Most important of these would be the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations. Through these agencies new experiments are continually being

tried, and new experience gained which in time may affect the policy of the central body. Their program and that of the interdenominational agencies should be jointly agreed upon, to avoid duplication and rivalry.

And while these movements are proceeding in the larger field of the church life of the country as a whole a parallel development must be taking place in the local communities. When all is said and done it will inevitably be found that we cannot build a better structure than we have laid the foundation for in the local church. Unless the problem of unity is being solved there, through such movements as those represented by the community church in the small villages and the federation of churches in the cities, it is not likely to be solved satisfactorily anywhere. Cooperation and union between denominations can never become really vital except as they grow naturally out of a spirit of unity which is created in the church home where men and women are being trained in their understanding of the meaning of the Christian life and the nature of the Church.

Less easy to define would be the relation of the federation movement to the proposal for organic union in the narrower sense. In view of differing attitudes toward the latter, the relation would have to remain informal and unofficial. Complete organic unity would remain the aspiration of those whose eyes were fixed on the distant goal. Federal union would form the means through which the goal may be ultimately realized, if the contacts and the fellowship thus developed make organic union seem desirable and practicable. In the meantime both those who seek organic union and those who do not believe it wise can meet in entire good faith in such an organization as the Federal Council, existing for the one purpose of expressing the degree of unity to which we have already attained. Such membership provides the opportunity for those increasing contacts through which the spiritual unity of believers can be revealed and enlarged.

3. For this expanding program of unity, a common consciousness must be developed on the part of the rank and file of Christians. This would involve more adequate educational agencies for carrying the spirit and the message of unity into all the churches. Such a program of education it is certainly not for us to outline in formal detail, but it would seem to us to include such features as the following:

a. A joint program of study of the principles and practice of church unity similar to that carried on by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, but on a larger and more representative scale.

b. An organ, perhaps similar to the *International Review of Missions* but covering the whole sphere of cooperative work, through which the results of this study and the facts concerning interdenominational movements could be made known to the whole Church.

c. Provision for the treatment of church cooperation and unity in the educational program of colleges and seminaries, and in various conferences of Christians held from time to time, especially the student conferences.

d. A deeper spirit of consecration, due to the facing of the Church's whole task in all its length and breadth. As the war through its appeal to definite consecration to a specific task called forth reserves of unselfishness and self-sacrifice hitherto unsuspected, so in the world's need, when clearly apprehended, there is a dynamic which will supply the appeal we need for the united effort of a united Church. And out of our experience of doing the will of Christ we shall find our way to the answer to His prayer for the Church.

But we must be ready to pay the price of unity. Every good is costly. The redemption of the world cost the life of the Redeemer. The foundation of the Church was laid in toil and pain, in the life and death of prophets, saints, apostles, martyrs. Every step forward in the

achievement of the divine will for man has had to be paid for with a great price. Each of the great religious movements so dear to us, and each of the denominational traditions which we cherish, cost more to begin than it costs the present generation to maintain. The next advance step will perhaps cost even more heavily. The mistakes which are likely to be made will be expensive and the successes will not be less so. Individuals must be ready to enter into larger experiences and to suffer the wrenches and breakups necessary to make room for richer relationships and fuller life. Prejudices which have passed themselves off as principles must yield to principles which are true. Denominations must prepare themselves for such a fulfilment of their mission as came to John the Baptist. Their names are not found in the New Testament. They have no claim to perpetuity. The New Testament Church was described by none of our adjectives, neither Catholic, Roman, Protestant, Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, nor Episcopalian. We must be ready, when the time comes, to yield our adjectives for the sake of the one substantial Church which is not many but one.

If we are ready to take this attitude we may be sure of the result. This is the final conclusion to which we have been led by our study. At every stage of it we have been conscious of having been in touch with a great living movement which nothing can stop. If anything could end it, the weaknesses and errors and failings of men would have ended it long ago. They would end it today. But it is a movement whose origin guarantees its ultimate success. Our Lord prayed that all Christians might be one, in the deepest and most vital unity of which we can conceive. That for which our Lord prayed cannot fail.

APPENDIX I

MOVEMENTS TOWARD UNION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The desire for church union and attempts to secure it are more pronounced than ever not only in the United States but also in practically all parts of the world. Some of the movements abroad are associated with similar ones in our own country, and in many other cases afford at least a close parallel. They need, therefore, to be considered in any account of progress toward union in the United States.

We may take as a date for beginning the present account the year 1886, when the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States made a declaration of four general articles as "a sufficient statement of the Christian faith." In the following year this "Quadrilateral" was adopted with some minor changes by the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops. As modified, it reads as follows:

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith. 2. The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith. 3. The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him. 4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church."

During the following decade this Quadrilateral occa-

sioned much discussion, which, however, gradually subsided without having led to any practical steps for reunion. Yet its influence has not been lost in subsequent conferences and efforts for church unity. Succeeding Lambeth Conferences have adopted general declarations urging efforts and prayer for union, notably that of the Lambeth Conference in the year 1908 inviting members of different communions to hold conferences for the mutual consideration of their relations and the cause of reunion. In this utterance these words occur, which have been caught up and often repeated as a rallying call: "We seek not compromise but comprehension, not uniformity but unity." In the following year there came from the United States the call for the World Conference on Faith and Order, the development of which has been discussed elsewhere in this volume.

The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches in England has for twenty-five years served to facilitate fraternal intercourse and cooperation among the Free Churches. It has brought church leaders together in a most useful way but in a non-representative capacity. It seems to be agreed, therefore, that while it has played a large part in stimulating and inspiring the movement, its present organization is not such as to be adequate for the future. The possibility of Free Church Union has therefore been proposed, and an official deputation was appointed by the Free Church Council three or four years ago to hold conferences with accredited representatives of the churches on the subject. A basis for federal union was put forth which has now been adopted by most of the leading evangelical denominations. It is known as the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England. The first meetings have already been held.

The movement for the reunion of the Free Churches and the Church of England is growing in influence. A joint committee of Anglicans and Nonconformists has held several unofficial conferences. In the Second In-

terim Report of the committee[1] discussing matters of faith and order, there was, on the one hand, a recognition of Nonconformist communions as churches by the Anglican members, and, on the other hand, a statement by the Nonconformist members that in the united Church there would be a place for an episcopacy if it took a constitutional form. It was agreed that acceptance of the fact of the episcopacy and not any theory as to its character was all that should be required.

What promises to be a landmark in the movement toward organic union not only in England but elsewhere was the recent pronouncement of the Lambeth Conference (August, 1920) on the subject of reunion.[2] It manifests a more generous appreciation of the Free Church point of view than any former Lambeth statement. It recognizes all baptized Christians as members of the Church universal, saying that "the one body needs not to be made, nor to be remade, but to become organic and visible." The repudiation of any past ministry or the absorption of any communion is disavowed. The plea for the episcopate is put forward in a conciliatory way, urging that it is the method for giving the authority of the whole Church to the ministry and that "the office of a bishop should be everywhere exercised in a representative and constitutional manner." It is suggested that in order to secure a general acceptance of one ministry, Anglican bishops and clergy would probably "willingly accept a form of commission or recognition" from the authorities of other churches, and it is hoped "that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission through episcopal ordination." If it could be made entirely clear that this involves only extension of the existing ministry and not

[1] For this report and other significant pronouncements on the subject of reunion, see "Approaches towards Christian Unity," edited by Newman Smyth and Williston Walker, New Haven, 1919.

[2] The statement is printed as a whole as Appendix III.

reordination, a long step ahead may be in sight. The vexed question of state-establishment in England is not raised.

The terms of the new Lambeth proposal are expressed as follows: "The Holy Scriptures, as the record of God's revelation of himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; and the creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' creed as the baptismal confession of belief; the divinely instituted sacraments of baptism and the holy communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ; a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body."

One point deserving special attention in connection with the Lambeth Conference is the resolution urging the churches to join in councils for united effort along various lines of service:

"The Conference recommends that, wherever it has not already been done, councils representing all Christian communions should be formed within such areas as may be deemed most convenient, as centers of united effort to promote the physical, moral, and social welfare of the people, and the extension of the rule of Christ among all nations and over every region of human life."

The action of the Lambeth Conference is, of course, merely an expression of opinion and has no binding authority. But that such opinion should have been expressed almost unanimously by the archbishops and bishops of the whole Anglican Church can hardly help having far-reaching effects.

In Canada a vigorous movement for the organic union of the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Congregational Churches has been in progress since 1902. In 1909-1910, after preliminary conferences in previous

years, the approval of the three churches was sought for a basis of union for "The United Church of Canada." In all three churches a substantial majority of the members voted in the affirmative, but the Presbyterian Church, in which the majority was smallest (being about sixty-five per cent), felt that it was wiser to wait for the consummation of the union till sentiment for it might become more widespread. Here the matter now stands awaiting further action by the Presbyterian Church. Meanwhile interdenominational cooperation, both in such national agencies as the Social Service Council and in local union or federated churches, is increasing.

In Australia in 1906-1907 committees on union of Anglicans and Presbyterians formulated a series of resolutions looking toward union, by providing for the reciprocal conferring upon the clergy of the two bodies "all the rights and privileges necessary for the exercise of their office in the united Church." This attempt to find a solution of the problem of orders has not, however, resulted in any definite step.

A more promising movement in Australia today seems to be for the organic union of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches. A basis of doctrine and polity was agreed upon at a conference in September, 1918, then submitted to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand, and the Methodist General Conference of Australia, and approved (with some reservations and suggested amendments) by each of these bodies for submission to the local congregations. The voting thus far by the smaller units—state assemblies, presbyteries, quarterly meetings, etc. — of the three churches reveals large majorities, except in the case of the Presbyterians where the majorities have usually been by small margins. The opposing Presbyterians in certain areas, however, are promoting the idea of an effective federation in the place of present organic union.

Besides these movements discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, various consolidations of ecclesiastical bodies of the same denominational family have been undertaken, and in some instances accomplished, in Canada, Scotland, and Australasia, as well as in mission fields. The union of the several branches of Methodism in Canada; of the Free Christian Baptists, the Free Baptists, and the Baptists in Canada; of the Methodists and the Wesleyans in New Zealand; and of the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches in Scotland are cases in point. Some of the unions on the mission field have been mentioned in another chapter.[1]

Efforts for the recognition of Anglican orders by the Roman Catholic Church took place between 1890 and 1896. Lord Halifax, the president of the English Church Union Society, after obtaining encouraging responses from Abbe Portal and a few other Catholic scholars sought to have the question of the validity of Anglican orders submitted to the Pope. They failed to obtain, however, any official advances from the Archbishops of England towards the Vatican, but they succeeded in laying the matter before the Pope for consideration. He appointed a Commission and directed them to make a thorough inquiry into all the matters involved. As a result of their careful investigation, Leo XIII issued an Apostolic Letter (*Apostolicae Curae*) on September 13, 1896, in which he declared that "ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void."

While of recent years many things have conspired to promote a better understanding and mutual good will between Protestants and Catholics, no further approaches toward reunion have been made, except in the case of the Commission on Faith and Order, whose proposal for an ecumenical conference was declined by the Pope.

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[1] See pp. 310-314.

APPENDIX II

PLAN OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON ORGANIC UNION

The following is the plan of union adopted by the American Council on Organic Union of the Churches of Christ, meeting in Philadelphia, Pa., February 3-6, 1920:

PREAMBLE:

Whereas: We desire to share, as a common heritage, the faith of the Christian Church, which has, from time to time, found expression in great historic statements; and

Whereas: We all share belief in God our Father; in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Saviour; in the Holy Spirit, our Guide and Comforter; in the Holy Catholic Church, through which God's eternal purpose of salvation is to be proclaimed and the Kingdom of God is to be realized on earth; in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing God's revealed will, and in the life eternal; and

Whereas: Having the same spirit and owning the same Lord, we none the less recognize diversity of gifts and ministrations for whose exercise due freedom must always be afforded in forms of worship and in modes of operation:

PLAN:

Now, we the churches hereto assenting as hereinafter provided in Article VI do hereby agree to associate ourselves in a visible body to be known as the "United Churches of Christ in America," for the furtherance of

the redemptive work of Christ in the world. This body shall exercise in behalf of the constituent churches the functions delegated to it by this instrument, or by subsequent action of the constituent churches, which shall retain the full freedom at present enjoyed by them in all matters not so delegated.

Accordingly, the churches hereto assenting and hereafter thus associated in such visible body do mutually covenant and agree as follows:

I. *Autonomy in Purely Denominational Affairs*

In the interest of the freedom of each and of the cooperation of all, each constituent church reserves the right to retain its creedal statements, its form of government in the conduct of its own affairs, and its particular mode of worship.

In taking this step, we look forward with confident hope to that complete unity toward which we believe the Spirit of God is leading us. Once we shall have cooperated wholeheartedly, in such visible body, in the holy activities of the work of the Church, we are persuaded that our differences will be minimized and our union become more vital and effectual.

II. *The Council* (how constituted)

The United Churches of Christ in America shall act through a Council and through such Executive and Judicial Commissions, or Administrative Boards, working *ad interim,* as such Council may from time to time appoint and ordain.

The Council shall convene as provided for in Article VI and every second year thereafter. It may also be convened at any time in such manner as its own rules may prescribe. The Council shall be a representative body.

Each constituent church shall be entitled to represen-

tation therein by an equal number of ministers and of lay members.

The basis of representation shall be: two ministers and two lay members for the first one hundred thousand or fraction thereof of its communicants; and two ministers and two lay members for each additional one hundred thousand or major fraction thereof.

III. *The Council* (its working)

The Council shall adopt and promulgate its own by-laws and rules of procedure and order. It shall define the functions of its own officers, prescribe the mode of their selection and their compensation, if any. It shall provide for its budget of expense by equitable apportionment of the same among the constituent churches through their supreme governing or advisory bodies.

IV. *Relation of Council and Constituent Churches*

The supreme governing or advisory bodies of the constituent churches shall effectuate the decisions of the Council by general or specific deliverance or other mandate whenever it may be required by the law of a particular state, or the charter of a particular board, or other ecclesiastical corporation; but, except as limited by this plan, shall continue the exercise of their several powers and functions as the same exist under the denominational constitution.

The Council shall give full faith and credit to the authenticated acts and records of the several governing or advisory bodies of the constituent churches.

V. *Specific Functions of the Council*

In order to prevent overlapping, friction, competition or waste in the work of the existing denominational boards or administrative agencies, and to further the efficiency of that degree of cooperation which they have already achieved in their work at home and abroad:

(*a*) The Council shall harmonize and unify the work of the united churches.

(*b*) It shall direct such consolidation of their missionary activities as well as of particular churches in overchurched areas as is consonant with the law of the land or of the particular denomination affected. Such consolidation may be progressively achieved, as by the uniting of the boards or churches of any two or more constituent denominations, or may be accelerated, delayed, or dispensed with, as the interests of the Kingdom of God may require.

(*c*) If and when any two or more constituent churches, by their supreme governing or advisory bodies, submit to the Council for its arbitrament any matter of mutual concern, not hereby already covered, the Council shall consider and pass upon such matter so submitted.

(*d*) The Council shall undertake inspirational and educational leadership of such sort and measure as may be proper, under the powers delegated to it by the constituent churches in the fields of evangelism, social service, religious education, and the like.

VI. The assent of each constituent church to this plan shall be certified from its supreme governing or advisory body by the appropriate officers thereof to the chairman of the *Ad Interim* Committee, which shall have power upon a two-thirds vote to convene the Council as soon as the assent of at least six denominations shall have been so certified.

VII. *Amendments*

This plan of organic union shall be subject to amendment only by the constituent churches, but the Council may overture to such bodies any amendment which shall have originated in said Council and shall have been adopted by a three-fourths vote.

APPENDIX III

AN APPEAL TO ALL CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

From the Bishops Assembled in the Lambeth Conference of 1920

We, Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan, and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England, in Conference assembled, realizing the responsibility which rests upon us at this time, and sensible of the sympathy and the prayers of many, both within and without our own Communion, make this appeal to all Christian people.

We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptized into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing with us membership in the universal Church of Christ which is His Body. We believe that the Holy Spirit has called us in a very solemn and special manner to associate ourselves in penitence and prayer with all those who deplore the divisions of Christian people, and are inspired by the vision and hope of a visible unity of the whole Church.

I. We believe that God wills fellowship. By God's own act this fellowship was made in and through Jesus Christ, and its life is in His Spirit. We believe that it is God's purpose to manifest this fellowship, so far as this world is concerned, in an outward, visible, and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognized officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring all its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. This is what we mean by the Catholic Church.

II. This united fellowship is not visibly in the world today. On the one hand there are other ancient episcopal Communions in East and West, to whom ours is bound

by many ties of common faith and tradition. On the other hand there are the great non-episcopal Communions, standing for rich elements of truth, liberty, and life which might otherwise have been obscured or neglected. With them we are closely linked by many affinities, racial, historical, and spiritual. We cherish the earnest hope that all these Communions, and our own, may be led by the Spirit into the unity of the Faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God. But in fact we are all organized in different groups, each one keeping to itself gifts that rightly belong to the whole fellowship, and tending to live its own life apart from the rest.

III. The causes of division lie deep in the past, and are by no means simple or wholly blameworthy. Yet none can doubt that self-will, ambition, and lack of charity among Christians have been principal factors in the mingled process, and that these, together with blindness to the sin of disunion, are still mainly responsible for the breaches of Christendom. We acknowledge this condition of broken fellowship to be contrary to God's will, and we desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ and hindering the activity of His Spirit.

IV. The times call us to a new outlook and new measures. The Faith cannot be adequately apprehended and the battle of the Kingdom cannot be worthily fought while the body is divided, and is thus unable to grow up into the fulness of the life of Christ. The time has come, we believe, for all the separated groups of Christians to agree in forgetting the things which are behind and reaching out towards the goal of a reunited Catholic Church. The removal of the barriers which have arisen between them will only be brought about by a new comradeship of those whose faces are definitely set this way.

The vision which rises before us is that of a Church genuinely Catholic, loyal to all Truth, and gathering into its fellowship all 'who profess and call themselves Chris-

tians,' within whose visible unity all the treasures of faith and order, bequeathed as a heritage by the past to the present, shall be possessed in common, and made serviceable to the whole Body of Christ. Within this unity Christian Communions now separated from one another would retain much that has long been distinctive in their methods of worship and service. It is through a rich diversity of life and devotion that the unity of the whole fellowship will be fulfilled.

V. This means an adventure of good will and still more of faith, for nothing less is required than a new discovery of the creative resources of God. To this adventure we are convinced that God is now calling all the members of His Church.

VI. We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of:

> The Holy Scriptures, as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; and the Creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal confession of belief:
>
> The divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ:
>
> A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body.

VII. May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry? It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of those Communions which do not possess the Episcopate. On the contrary we thankfully ac-

knowledge that these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace. But we submit that considerations alike of history and of present experience justify the claim which we make on behalf of the Episcopate. Moreover, we would urge that it is now and will prove to be in the future the best instrument for maintaining the unity and continuity of the Church. But we greatly desire that the office of a Bishop should be everywhere exercised in a representative and constitutional manner, and more truly express all that ought to be involved for the life of the Christian Family in the title of Father-in-God. Nay more, we eagerly look forward to the day when through its acceptance in a united Church we may all share in that grace which is pledged to the members of the whole body in the apostolic rite of the laying-on of hands, and in the joy and fellowship of a Eucharist in which as one Family we may together, without any doubtfulness of mind, offer to the one Lord our worship and service.

VIII. We believe that for all, the truly equitable approach to union is by the way of mutual deference to one another's consciences. To this end, we who send forth this appeal would say that if the authorities of other Communions should so desire, we are persuaded that, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from these authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations, as having its place in the one family life. It is not in our power to know how far this suggestion may be acceptable to those to whom we offer it. We can only say that we offer it in all sincerity as a token of our longing that all ministries of grace, theirs and ours, shall be available for the service of our Lord in a united Church.

It is our hope that the same motive would lead ministers who have not received it to accept a commission

through episcopal ordination, as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship.

In so acting no one of us could possibly be taken to repudiate his past ministry. God forbid that any man should repudiate a past experience rich in spiritual blessings for himself and others. Nor would any of us be dishonoring the Holy Spirit of God whose call led us all to our several ministries, and whose power enabled us to perform them. We shall be publicly and formally seeking additional recognition of a new call to wider service in a reunited Church, and imploring for ourselves God's grace and strength to fulfil the same.

IX. The spiritual leadership of the Catholic Church in days to come, for which the world is manifestly waiting, depends upon the readiness with which each group is prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of a common fellowship, a common ministry, and a common service to the world.

We place this ideal first and foremost before ourselves and our own people. We call upon them to make the effort to meet the demands of a new age with a new outlook. To all other Christian people whom our words may reach we make the same appeal. We do not ask that any one Communion should consent to be absorbed in another. We do ask that all should unite in a new and great endeavor to recover and to manifest to the world the unity of the Body of Christ for which He prayed.

The resolutions adopted by the Lambeth Conference on the subject of union (except those dealing with particular communions) are printed below.

"10. The Conference recommends to the authorities of the Churches of the Anglican Communion that they should, in such ways and at such times as they think best, formally invite the authorities of other Churches within their areas to confer with them concerning the possibility of taking definite steps to cooperate in a common en-

deavour, on the lines set forth in the above Appeal, to restore the unity of the Church of Christ.

"11. The Conference recognizes that the task of effecting union with other Christian Communions must be undertaken by the various national, regional, or provincial authorities of the Churches within the Anglican Communion, and confidently commits to them the carrying out of this task on lines that are in general harmony with the principles underlying its Appeal and Resolutions.

"12. The Conference approves the following statements as representing the counsel which it is prepared to give to the Bishops, Clergy, and other members of our own Communion on various subjects which bear upon the problems of reunion, provided that such counsel is not to be regarded as calling in question any Canons or official declarations of any Synod or House of Bishops of a national, regional, or provincial Church which has already dealt with these matters.

"(A) *In view of prospects and projects of reunion—*

"(i) A Bishop is justified in giving occasional authorization to ministers, not episcopally ordained, who in his judgment are working towards an ideal of union such as is described in our Appeal, to preach in churches within his Diocese, and to clergy of the Diocese to preach in the churches of such ministers:

"(ii) The Bishops of the Anglican Communion will not question the action of any Bishop who, in the few years between the initiation and the completion of a definite scheme of union, shall countenance the irregularity of admitting to Communion the baptized but unconfirmed communicants of the non-episcopal congregations concerned in the scheme:

"(iii) The Conference gives its general approval to the suggestions contained in the report of the Sub-Committee on Reunion with Non-Episcopal Churches in reference to the status and work of ministers who may remain after union without episcopal ordination.

"(B) *Believing, however, that certain lines of action might imperil both the attainment of its ideal and the unity of its own Communion, the Conference declares that—*

"(i) It cannot approve of general schemes of intercommunion or exchange of pulpits:

"(ii) In accordance with the principle of Church

order set forth in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer, it cannot approve the celebration in Anglican churches of the Holy Communion for members of the Anglican Church by ministers who have not been episcopally ordained; and that it should be regarded as the general rule of the Church that Anglican communicants should receive Holy Communion only at the hands of ministers of their own Church, or of Churches in communion therewith.

"(C) *In view of doubts and varieties of practice which have caused difficulties in the past, the Conference declares that—*

"(i) Nothing in these Resolutions is intended to indicate that the rule of Confirmation as conditioning admission to the Holy Communion must necessarily apply to the case of baptized persons who seek Communion under conditions which in the Bishop's judgment justify their admission thereto.

"(ii) In cases in which it is impossible for the Bishop's judgment to be obtained beforehand, the priest should remember that he has no canonical authority to refuse Communion to any baptized person kneeling before the Lord's Table (unless he be excommunicate by name, or, in the canonical sense of the term, a cause of scandal to the faithful); and that, if a question may properly be raised as to the future admission of any such person to Holy Communion, either because he has not been confirmed or for other reasons, the priest should refer the matter to the Bishop for counsel or direction.

"13. The Conference recommends that, wherever it has not already been done, Councils representing all Christian Communions should be formed within such areas as may be deemed most convenient, as centres of united effort to promote the physical, moral, and social welfare of the people, and the extension of the rule of Christ among all nations and over every region of human life.

"14. It is important to the cause of reunion that every branch of the Anglican Communion should develop the constitutional government of the Church and should make a fuller use of the capacities of its members for service."

APPENDIX IV

THE GENEVA CONFERENCES IN 1920

During the summer of 1920, three conferences were held in Switzerland, which are of considerable importance in the progress toward church unity. Each of them was characterized by a very wide representation of Christian communions. Taken together they probably form the most representative assembling of Christian forces known in the world since the Eastern and Western Churches broke apart.

I. On Faith and Order

The most outstanding of the three was also the one most directly pointed toward church unity. For some years the Commission on Faith and Order, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, has been steadily at work, promoting meetings and discussions at which the various Christian bodies might set forth each its own contribution to the treasury of the whole Church, and through which these bodies might grow into more of that mutual respect and understanding which preconditions further progress. The Commission has been moving toward a great gathering of representatives of all Christian communions.

The conference held at Geneva August 12th to 25th was not this proposed general gathering, but a preliminary conference, to decide whether the projected meeting should take place, and if so, at what time and with what scope. A special committee had visited Europe in advance, securing from all branches of the Christian Church but one cordial expression of interest and promises to send delegates to such a preliminary gathering. The one exception was, of course, the Church of Rome, which

consistently refuses to discuss church unity except on the basis of a return to its own fold.

Some forty nations and some eighty communions were represented at Geneva. The addresses were all given in three languages, English, French, and German. Greek was not infrequently heard, as the interested (and interesting) delegates from the various divisions of the Orthodox Church of Eastern Europe took part in the sessions.[1]

Nothing could have been finer than the spirit of fellowship, cordial good will, and breadth of view which characterized the sessions. There was great plainness of speech. There was little if any evidence of yielding to the temptation to clothe ideas in language vague enough to lead to a semblance of uniting, without real and deep agreement. Much of the time was taken up with statements, on the part of representatives of the larger divisions of the Church, of their distinctive tenets and their understanding of the problem of unity.

It was decided that a World Conference on Faith and Order should be called at some time in the future, with the widest possible representation; and a strong committee to arrange for it was designated.

The best outcome of the conference, however, was not any formal action taken, but the contact of men of many minds and from many lands, and their discovery of a real unity in Christ and in their love and loyalty toward Him. The presence of Bishop Brent as Chairman was a great asset to the cause. The quiet, gracious, persistent, consecrated influence of Robert H. Gardiner, Secretary of the conference, has made him the moving spirit in the work of the Commission. The Continuation Committee has sent out a letter propounding important questions about the faith of the Church, and urging that discussions be held and prayers offered for a united Church.

[1] A full report of the conference, entitled "Report of the Preliminary Meeting at Geneva, Switzerland, August 12-20, 1920," can be secured upon application to the secretary, Robert H. Gardiner, Gardiner, Maine.

II. On the Life and Work of the Church

Smaller, simpler, less elaborate in preparation and in action, and quite different in scope and outlook, was the special conference on the Life and Work of the Church, held at Geneva August 9th to 12th. This grew out of the conviction on the part of a small group gathered at the Hague in October, 1919, that there would be great value in a conference of the whole Church of Christ to consider unitedly its practical scope, function, and mission—a conference to do for the whole task of the Church what the Edinburgh Conference did for the one subject of missions. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America took up the matter strongly, and, by general action, in which the leaders were the Federal Council and Archbishop Soderblom of Upsala, Sweden, this preliminary and brief conference in Geneva was arranged.

Little was done beyond resolving with great unanimity and enthusiasm to hold, "in two or three years," a "Universal Conference of the Church of Christ on Life and Work," and appointing a commission to plan for the projected meeting. The scope of the conference was discussed. It was felt to be vital that the call to it should come, not from this or any other informal body, but from the responsible authorities of the various Christian communions; and the matter will be so presented and forwarded, in order to avoid the impression that a self-selected body, without any representative authority or responsibility, is presuming to act for the Church.

This conference sends out a significant call to prayer:

"The members of this preliminary International Conference at Geneva, drawn together by a consciousness of the painful and urgent need of the world, and by a conviction that only the Gospel and spirit and leadership of Jesus Christ can meet that need, and that only a church united, consecrated, daring, and self-forgetful can form the body through which this spirit may do His gracious and healing work, earnestly and solemnly appeal to Chris-

tians of every name and form, of every land and race, to pray now and continually for the coming of a fuller unity for the world; for a readiness on the part of all Christians to make new ventures of faith, and to take more seriously the implications of the Gospel; for the deepening and broadening of love among all Christ's followers toward all men; for the elimination of all passion and prejudice, and the growth of peace and brotherhood; for clearer vision of the will of God and of the work of Christ in this day; and for all that may further the coming of His Kingdom.

"Especially do we ask our fellow-Christians, everywhere, to pray for the success of the Conference, which is to consider the place and duty of the Church of Christ, and the claims upon it of the Master and of mankind. The united and unceasing intercession of all Christians is asked, that, through this gathering of Christians from all the world, the Church may come to clear realization of its unity, its opportunity, and its responsibility; that the spirit of Christ may fill and control His body, the Church; and that, through His mighty and gracious working, mankind may be led into the larger life which is in Him, and the whole creation, now groaning and travailing in pain, may be delivered from the bondage of corruption and brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God."

III. The World Alliance for International Friendship

The third conference differed from the other two in being an official gathering of an organized movement, and in addressing itself to a more limited end. It was the Annual Meeting of the International Commission of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

This World Alliance was started in the summer of 1914, just as the war broke out. Its aim is very simple and practical—to get the churches in every country to function strongly and enthusiastically as the chief agent in the land for the promotion of good will toward other nations and races. This it tries to do by establishing a

council in every nation where there is a Christian church, and binding these councils together by an International Committee.

Practically all the existing councils were represented at the conference. Discussion was very free and very friendly. Representatives of nations lately at war and of contending creeds sat together on terms of good will, and felt the present possibility of a real unity on the basis of this one simple aim. The Archbishop of Canterbury was elected President of the Alliance. Various pronouncements were made, on missions, on the making and keeping of treaties, on the rights of religious minorities, and on disarmament. But here, as in the other gatherings, the chief gain was not in any formal action, but in the personal contacts, and the new influences thereby started, making for better relations between the nations and races. It is impossible to estimate the influence for good which will be exerted if Christians of all communions come to see as one of the vital aims and ends of their religion the fostering of good will and friendliness between nations and races, and the securing of justice and fairness in international relations.

These three conferences bid fair to prove helpful in the progress toward church unity, each in its own way. They did not overlap and their future developments need not. While only one of them aims specifically at the organic union of the Church, the others contribute no less vitally to that spiritual unity, without which organic union would be meaningless. To set the Church at discussing problems of faith and order, to summon it to a united view of its function and tasks, and to get it to act, at once and increasingly, as a great, united agency for international friendliness—these are all important parts of the great movement toward a Church that shall be one in spirit and, eventually, one in real operation.

APPENDIX V

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PRESENT MOVEMENTS TOWARD CHRISTIAN UNITY

The following bibliography aims only to suggest a few of the more important recent publications dealing with the present situation in the movement toward greater Christian unity. No attempt is here made to be exhaustive, nor are reading lists given on the historical and doctrinal aspects of the question. For these almost the whole range of church history and theology would have to be considered.

I. Official Pronouncements of Churches or of Groups of Christians

AFRICA

Proposed constitution of Alliance of Missionary Societies in British East Africa. Adopted at the united conference of Episcopal and Free Church missionaries at Kikuyu, July 26, 1918. Discussed on pages 313-314 of this volume. Reprinted in *International Review of Missions,* January, 1920. See also Kikuyu Rediviva, *Constructive Quarterly,* June, 1919.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON ORGANIC UNION OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST. Plan of Union for the Evangelical Churches of the U. S. A. Adopted at Philadelphia, February 3-6, 1920. Reprinted as Appendix II of this volume. Discussed on pages 156-160.

ANGLICAN

1. The Lambeth Quadrilateral. Submitted by the House of Bishops of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Chicago in 1886 and adopted by the Lambeth Conference of

1888. Reprinted on pages 250-251 of this report in the form in which adopted at Chicago, and on page 349 with the modifications made by the Lambeth Conference.

2. Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, Holden at Lambeth Palace, July 5-August 7, 1920; Encyclical letter from the Bishops, with the Resolution and Reports. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, or Macmillian Co., New York, 1920.

The now widely-known "Appeal to all Christian People," on the subject of the unity of the Church, adopted by the conference of bishops, is reprinted as Appendix III of the present volume.

AUSTRALIA

Proposed Basis of Union for Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist Churches. Briefly summarized by George Hall in Christian Unity in Australia, *Christian Union Quarterly,* July, 1920.

CANADA

Proposed Basis of Union of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational Churches in Canada. Reprinted as an Appendix to Robert Campbell's Relations of the Christian Churches, Toronto, 1913. See also E. Thomas, Church Union in Canada, *American Journal of Theology,* July, 1919.

CHINA

Proposed Plan of Union and Doctrinal Basis for the United Church of Christ in China. Adopted by Congregationalists and Presbyterians in 1919. Referred to on page 312 of this report. Reprinted in *International Review of Missions,* January, 1920.

"CONCORDAT." Proposal for an Approach towards Unity. Prepared by members of the Protestant Episcopal and of the Congregationalist Churches in the

U. S., March, 1919. Reprinted as Appendix 5 in "Approaches towards Christian Unity," edited by Newman Smyth and Williston Walker, New Haven, 1919; also as an appendix to The Call to Unity, by William T. Manning, New York, 1920. For a sympathetic interpretation, see Newman Smyth's "A Proposed Approach towards Unity in the United States," *Constructive Quarterly*, March, 1920.

The so-called Concordat proposes that canonical sanction be given by the Episcopal Church to the ordination of any properly qualified minister of a Congregational church, if he so desires and the ecclesiastical authority to which he is subject consents, and provides that a minister thus ordained may minister to both Congregationalists and Episcopalians.

DECLARATION OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AND THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. Reprinted on page 74 of "Towards Christian Unity," by Peter Ainslie, Seminary House, Baltimore, 1918.

A statement jointly adopted in 1916 by the Committee on Church Cooperation and Union of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and the Commission on Christian Unity of the Disciples of Christ, concerning points of agreement between the two bodies. Statements as to points of agreement with the Congregationalists and the Christians are reprinted in the same volume.

FAITH AND ORDER, WORLD CONFERENCE ON. Report and Resolution adopted at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1910 suggesting the Conference.

This statement and various documents issued by the Joint Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church on Faith and Order may be secured on application to the Secretary, R. H. Gardiner, Gardiner, Maine.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

1. Constitution and By-Laws. Plan of federation

recommended by the Interchurch Conference of 1905; adopted by the national assemblies of the constituent bodies, 1906-1908; ratified by the Council, December 2-8, 1908; amended 1912 and 1916.

2. Report of Committee on Methods of Cooperation. Appointed on October 22, 1920, to review the present interdenominational situation and to present recommendations to the Federal Council; adopted by the Council December 4, 1920.

The latter proposes steps which the Federal Council should take in order to serve the churches more fully. Either document can be secured from the Federal Council, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

INDIA. South India Proposals for Church Union

1. Statement drawn up by members of the Anglican and South India United Churches, May 1 and 2, 1919.
2. Statement from the Malabar Suffragan and other members of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church.

Discussed on pages 312-313 of this volume. Reprinted in *International Review of Missions*, January, 1920. See also Sherwood Eddy, "Church Union in the Orient," *Constructive Quarterly*, January, 1920, and A. L. Warnshius, "Church Union in India," *Christian Work*, December 4, 1920.

INTERIM REPORTS OF JOINT ANGLICAN AND NONCONFORMIST COMMITTEE. Reprinted as appendices to "Approaches to Christian Unity," edited by Newman Smyth and Williston Walker, New Haven, 1919. The Second Interim Report, which is the more important, is also reprinted in "The Churches at the Cross Roads," by J. H. Shakespeare, London, 1918; in "The Call to Unity," by William T. Manning, New York, 1920, and "Towards Reunion," London, 1919.

A record of conclusions of the conferences, referred to on page 351 of this report, held by a committee of Anglicans, appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and representatives of the English Free

Churches in connection with the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order. The first statement discusses agreements and differences on matters of faith and order. The second statement urges the "acceptance of the fact of episcopacy and not any theory as to its character" and suggests that it "reassume a constitutional form, both as regards the method of the election of the bishop, as by clergy and people, and the method of government after election."

LUTHERAN. Declaration of Principles concerning the Church and its External Relationships: adopted at the second convention of the United Lutheran Church in America at Washington, D. C., October 26, 1920. United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia. Reprinted in *The Lutheran.*

An official statement of great importance, setting forth both the Lutheran conception of the Church, and the attitude of the United Lutheran Church to cooperation and union with other Protestant churches. The substance of the statement is given on pages 62-63 of this volume.

MANSFIELD MANIFESTO. Resolutions passed by a group of Anglicans and Nonconformists meeting at Mansfield College, Oxford, January 6-8, 1919. Reprinted in full as an appendix to "Towards Reunion," London, 1919, and in part as an appendix to "Pathways to Christian Unity," London, 1919.

Recognizes the various communions as all valid Christian churches and holds that this should involve reciprocal participation in the Holy Communion; agrees to a reformed episcopacy and urges interchange of pulpits and practical cooperation as a present procedure.

REPORTS OF THE CONFERENCES BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND ON THE CLOSER COOPERATION OF THE CHURCHES; held at Mansfield College, Oxford, September, 1916, and at London and Cambridge in March, 1917. Reprinted as appendix to "The Church at the Cross Roads" by J. H. Shakespeare,

London, 1918, and also as an appendix to "Unity and Schism" by T. A. Lacey, London, 1917.

Consist of statements by four sub-committees on Faith, Ministry, Evangelization, and Constitution, suggesting a basis for a federation of the Free Churches.

II. Undenominational Movements

CLARK, FRANCIS E. Christian Endeavor in all Lands: a Record of Twenty-five Years' Progress, Philadelphia, 1906.

DWIGHT, HENRY OTIS. Centennial History of the American Bible Society. New York, Macmillan Company, 1916.

MAYO, KATHERINE. That Damn "Y." New York, Association Press, 1920.

The story, told in popular style, of the service of the Y M C A in the World War.

MORSE, RICHARD C. My Life with Young Men: Fifty Years in the Young Men's Christian Association. New York, Association Press, 1918.

The autobiography of a great leader in the Y M C A, giving a summary of all that is most significant in the first half century of its development.

MOTT, JOHN R. The World's Student Christian Federation: Origins, Achievements, Forecasts. New York, Association Press, 1920.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE RELATION OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION TO THE CHURCHES. Pamphlet. Can be secured from the International Committee of the Y M C A, 347 Madison Avenue., New York.

Presented to the Fortieth International Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations, Detroit, Michigan, November 19-23, 1919. Reviews the historic relation of the Y M C A to the churches, the present relation of the Y M C A to the churches both in local communities

and in the nation as a whole, the spiritual work of the Y M C A and the war-time relation of the Y M C A and the churches. Excerpts from this important document are printed on pages 127-132 of this volume.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, APRIL 13-20, 1920. Can be secured from the National Board, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York.

WILSON, ELIZABETH. Fifty years of Association Work with Young Women. New York, National Board of Y W C A, 600 Lexington Avenue, 1916.

An historical account of the first half century of work of the Young Women's Christian Association.

YEAR BOOK OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA. New York, Association Press, 1920.

III. Administrative Unity

ASHWORTH, ROBERT A. The Union of Christian Forces in America. Philadelphia, American Sunday-School Union, 1915.

Chapters VII and VIII discuss cooperation in home and foreign missions.

BROWN, ARTHUR J. Unity and Missions. New York, Revell, 1915.

A comprehensive study of the bearing of the foreign missionary movement on Christian unity, with a survey of movements in the direction of cooperation and union in various parts of the world.

COUNCIL OF CHURCH BOARDS OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Year book. Can be secured from 19 South La Salle Street, Chicago.

Published annually as one number of *Christian Edution,* a monthly bulletin devoted to the work of the

Church College, with special reference to cooperative activities.

MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL DENOMINATIONS, January, 1921. Can be secured from the Secretary, 99 Dundas Street, Toronto.

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA. Handbook. 45 West 18th Street, New York, 1919.

The official guide for speakers and workers; includes statement of plan of organization and full outline of its contemplated work. The religious press for 1919 and 1920 contain a host of articles on the movement. For a typical sympathetic evaluation, written in the light of the discontinuance of its activities, see "The Truth About the Interchurch," by a member of the General Committee, *Christian Work*, New York, December 11 and 18, 1920.

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL. Fourteenth Annual Meeting, January 13-15, 1921. Can be secured from the Home Missions Council, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Includes also a summary of the work of the Council of Women for Home Missions.

FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA. Record of Twenty-eighth Annual Session, January, 1921. Can be secured from the Committee of Reference and Counsel, 25 Madison Avenue, New York.

FOREIGN MISSIONS, COOPERATION IN. Report submitted to the Fourth Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, December 1-6, 1920. Can be secured from the Federal Council, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

A brief summary of the existing cooperation both at the home base and on the foreign field, with special reference to progress between 1916 and 1920.

RITSON, J. H. The Growth of Missionary Cooperation

since 1910. *International Review of Missions,* January, 1919.

WATSON, CHARLES R. Foreign Missionary Cooperation and Unity at the Home Base in America, *International Review of Missions,* January, 1919.

IV. Federal Unity

1. Among denominations.

ASHWORTH, ROBERT A. The Union of Christian Forces in America. Chapter V. Philadelphia, American Sunday-School Union, 1915.

CROSS, GEORGE. Federation of the Christian Churches in America: an Interpretation. *American Journal of Theology,* April, 1919.

MACFARLAND, CHARLES S. The Progress of Church Federation. New York, Revell, 1917.

A brief interpretation of federal union and a narrative of the origin and history of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

QUADRENNIAL REPORT OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, HELD IN BOSTON, MASS., December 1-6, 1920. Can be secured from 105 East 22d Street, New York, as can also the reports of the Quadrennial Meetings in 1908, 1912 and 1916, and annual reports of the Executive Committee.

SANFORD, ELIAS B. Origin and History of the Federal Council, 1916. Can be secured from the Federal Council, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

SHAKESPEARE, J. H. The Churches at the Cross-Roads; a Study in Church Unity, London, 1918.

A typical statement of the progressive English Baptist attitude, by an outstanding exponent of federal union among the Free Churches. It holds that denominations arose providentially to bear needed witness to neglected

truths but that they must now find a way of securing unity amid diversity, and that federal union is the next step on the path of progress.

WAR-TIME AGENCIES OF THE CHURCHES. Directory and Handbook. Can be secured from Federal Council, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

A record of the work of the churches in the World War, with special reference to their cooperation in the General War-time Commission of the Churches.

2. Among local churches.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS FOR COOPERATING CHURCHES. Edited by Roy B. Guild, 1920, New York, Association Press.

The reports presented to the Church and Community Convention in Cleveland, in May, 1920, setting forth practical programs along evangelistic, social, missionary and educational lines for local federations.

GUILD, ROY B. Practicing Christian Unity. New York, Association Press, 1919.

MANUAL OF INTERCHURCH WORK. New York, 1917. Can be secured from the Federal Council, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

A handbook on methods of practical cooperation of the churches in a local community, based on the experience of successful federations.

The material dealing directly with the "union," "federated," or "community" church (discussed in the first half of Chapter III of the present report) is rather fragmentary. The following suggestions will illustrate the type of sources available:

GILL, C. O., and PINCHOT, GIFFORD. Six Thousand Country Churches. New York, Macmillan, 1919. Chapters VI, VII, VIII.

JACKSON, HENRY E. The Community Church. Boston, Houghton, 1919.

PRACTICING CHURCH UNITY IN VERMONT. Pamphlet, summarizing the experience of the last four years in allocating fields to exclusive occupancy by a single church. Can be secured from the Home Missions Council, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Summarized in "Interchurch Cooperation in Vermont," by Paul L. Vogt, *Zion's Herald,* Boston, January 12, 1921.

V. Organic Unity

AINSLIE, PETER. If Not a United Church—What? New York, Revell, 1920.

Representative of the strong interest of many of the Disciples in organic union.

ASHWORTH, ROBERT A. The Union of Christian Forces in America. American Sunday-School Union, Philadelphia, 1915.

A liberal Baptist interpretation of the whole problem of Christian unity, emphasizing the need for present cooperation and federation and suggesting the basis on which the goal of an organic unity may ultimately be reached.

LACEY, T. A. Unity and Schism. London, Mowbray, 1917.

Illustrative of the point of view which rejects the present movement toward federation on the ground that it seems logically to imply the independence of the denominational units and so to contradict the idea of essential unity.

MANNING, WILLIAM T. The Call to Unity. New York, Macmillan, 1920.

A very recent characteristic statement of an Episcopalian's interest in the consideration of questions of faith and order with a view to organic union.

GORE, CHARLES. Steps toward Union. London, 1919.

Typical of the Anglican High Churchman's view.

HEADLAM, A. C. The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion. London, Longmans, 1920.

One of the best recent expositions of the liberal Anglican view of the basis of organic union. It is primarily historical, considering such subjects as the origins of the Church, the Apostolic Church, the Catholic Church, and the divisions of the Church, and the doctrine of the Church. Urges the mutual recognition of the validity of existing orders and, for the future, the establishment of episcopal ordination as the common basis of church order.

PATHWAYS TO CHRISTIAN UNITY: A Free Church View. London, Macmillan, 1919.

A series of valuable papers by Free Churchmen on various aspects of the problem of Christian unity, urging increasing contacts and understanding among the churches by means of cooperation and federation, as a preparation for a completer unity in the future.

SMYTH, NEWMAN, and WALKER, WILLISTON, Editors. Approaches toward Christian Unity. 1919, New Haven, Yale University Press.

A series of studies, chiefly historical, presented as suggesting useful material for consideration in connection with organic union. Other chapters than those by the editors are by Raymond Calkins and Bishop Charles H. Brent.

TOWARDS REUNION: Being Contributions toward Mutual Understanding. By Church of England and Free Church Writers. 1919, London, Macmillan.

A group of articles receiving their impetus from the conferences at Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1918 and 1919 between Anglicans and Free Churchmen. Typical of the irenic spirit of the conference, as expressed in the Second Interim Report, urging the "acceptance of the fact of episcopacy and not any theory as to its character."

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